

THE MILITARY ORDERS

Volume 6.2

Culture and
Conflict in
Western and
Northern Europe

edited by
Jochen Schenk
and
Mike Carr



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The Military Orders

Forty papers link the study of the military orders' cultural life and output with their involvement in political and social conflicts during the medieval and early modern period. Divided into two volumes, focusing on the Eastern Mediterranean and Europe respectively, the collection brings together the most up-to-date research by experts from fifteen countries on a kaleidoscope of relevant themes and issues, thus offering a broad-ranging and at the same time very detailed study of the subject.

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Volume 6.2: culture and conflict
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Editors' preface

The present volume contains papers from the sixth conference on the military orders, which was held on 5–8 September 2013 at the Museum of the Order of St John, St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London, under the auspices of the London Centre for the Study of the Crusades, the Military Religious Orders and the Latin East. We welcomed scholars from at least twenty-five countries who between them presented over eighty papers. It has been possible to publish only a selection of the papers here; however, we should like to take this opportunity to thank everyone who took part in the conference for helping make the event such a success.

For the first time the proceedings are being published in two volumes. Although each volume stands on its own and can be obtained and consulted independently, the volumes are best appreciated as an ensemble, for they are intended to provide the reader with the broadest overview of the most current research in the field of military order studies relating to their military lives and culture. It should be noted here that the term 'culture' is understood by the conference organizers and the editors as denoting the visible and tangible products of human endeavour as well as the forms and means of ritualistic and symbolic communication and representation which are at the heart of what has been labelled the 'new cultural history'. Whereas each volume focuses on a very broad geographical region (Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean respectively), their internal structure is chronological rather than thematic or geographic. That this should be the most satisfying order presenting itself is, of course, testimony to the vast variety of topics, approaches and geographical regions presented within each volume. This should come as no surprise: the study of the military orders has always been an international and truly interdisciplinary endeavour!

As editors we should like to express our gratitude to the editorial committee, Tony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson for their support and sage advice throughout, as well as to Jonathan Riley-Smith for writing the introductions to these volumes. Thanks are also due to John Smedley and his colleagues at Ashgate Publishing, Michael Bourne at Routledge, and Autumn Spalding at Apex CoVantage for their help and patience. The conference turned out to be an immense success because of the many months of careful planning by its dedicated organizing committee led by Michael Heslop, namely Alan Borg, Christina Grembowicz, Tony Luttrell, Helen J. Nicholson, Jonathan Phillips, Jonathan Riley-Smith, Keith

Schnaar and Pamela Willis. It is to them that we extend our gratitude for helping lay the foundation for these two volumes.

Very special words of thanks are due to our sponsors and those who have contributed to the conference: Cardiff Centre for the Study of the Crusades, Cardiff University, the Grand Priory of England, the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, the St John Historical Society, Royal Holloway, the University of London, Cambridge University Press, Ashgate Publishing, the Institute of Historical Research, Brepols Publishers NV and to the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust for its subvention towards the publication of the proceedings. We are also grateful to three anonymous donors for enabling the conference committee to give seven bursaries to students, and to the Priory of England of the Order of St John and the Museum of the Order of St John for the use of St John's Gate and the Priory Church. Finally, we would like to thank the volunteers and staff at St John's Gate, in particular the members of the St John Historical Society and the St John Fellowship, the Reverend Gay Ellis (Little Maplestead), Paula Dellamura (Temple Cressing) and Stephane Bitty (Rosebery Hall).

Jochen Schenk (Glasgow) & Mike Carr (Edinburgh)

Abbreviations

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i>
AHN OO.MM	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Ordenes Militares
AIM	Archive of the Roman Inquisition in Malta
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l'Orient Latin</i>
AOM	Archive of the Order of Malta
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASVen	Archivio di Stato, Venice
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
<i>CCCM</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> , 316 vols (Turnhout, 1945–)
<i>CH</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem, 1100–1310</i> , ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1906)
<i>Cont WT</i>	<i>La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)</i> , ed. M.R. Morgan, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 14 (Paris, 1982)
<i>CT</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple 1119?–1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple</i> , ed. Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1913)
<i>Eracles</i>	<i>L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer</i> , in RHC Occ, 1.2 (Paris, 1859)
<i>HC</i>	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , gen. ed. K.M. Setton, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Madison, 1968–89)
Malta, Cod.	Archives of the Order of St John, National Library of Malta, Valletta
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores</i>
<i>MO 1</i>	<i>The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick</i> , ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994)
<i>MO 2</i>	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 2: Welfare and Warfare</i> , ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998)

<i>MO 3</i>	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 3: History and Heritage</i> , ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot, 2008)
<i>MO 4</i>	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 4: On Land and By Sea</i> , ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot, 2008)
<i>MO 5</i>	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 5: Politics and Power</i> , ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, 2012)
<i>MOA</i>	<i>Militarium Ordinum Analecta</i>
<i>Montjoie</i>	<i>Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honor of Hans Eberhard Mayer</i> , ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (London, 1997)
<i>NLM</i>	National Library of Malta, Valletta
<i>P&C</i>	<i>Prier et combattre: dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge</i> , ed. N. Bériou and P. Josserand (Paris, 2009)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>PPTS</i>	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
<i>PUTJ</i>	<i>Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter</i> , ed. R. Hiestand, 2 vols (Gottingen, 1972–84)
<i>QuStDO</i>	Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens
<i>RHC</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i>
<i>Arm</i>	<i>Documents arméniens</i>
<i>Occ</i>	<i>Historiens occidentaux</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Historiens orientaux</i>
<i>RHGF</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</i>
<i>RIS</i>	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i>
<i>ROL</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient Latin</i>
<i>RRH</i>	<i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani and Additamentum (Ad)</i> , ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893–1904)
<i>RS</i>	Rolls Series
<i>RSJ</i>	<i>The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St James, 1170–1493</i> , ed. E. Gallego Blanco (Leiden, 1971)
<i>RT</i>	<i>La Règle du Temple</i> , ed. H. de Curzon (Paris, 1886)
<i>SDO</i>	<i>Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften</i> , ed. M. Perlbach (Halle, 1980)
<i>SRP</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum</i> , ed. T. Hirsch et al. (Leipzig, 1861)
<i>WT</i>	<i>Guillaume de Tyr, Chronique</i> , ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986)

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Introduction

Jonathan Riley-Smith

This volume focuses on the life and activities of the Military Orders in the West, a field of study which rose to prominence in the 1950s. In this respect it was particularly heart-warming to read the tribute to Alan Forey in Philippe Josserand's plenary lecture. Topics include frontiers, spirituality, internal relations, discipline, texts, heraldry, relics, commandery life and management, prioral politics and the development of the status of nobility. Five papers deal with or touch on the Iberian peninsula, which has been the scene of so much first-class history in recent years. Four concentrate on England, two each on Germany and Italy and one each on Flanders and Provence. The vast majority concern the history of the Templars and the Hospitallers, particularly the latter. One paper deals with the Teutonic Order and two with the Iberian ones. On the other hand, there are increasing signs that the Orders are no longer being treated in isolation, but are being seen in relation to each other. This is particularly apparent in the plenary lectures delivered by Nikolas Jaspert and Damien Carraz.

Only one paper considers a topic from the nineteenth century. It is significant in that it relates to the Bailiwick of Utrecht, one of the most interesting of the Protestant Orders of Chivalry. In the past the Bailiwick of Utrecht has been given far less attention than the Bailiwick of Brandenburg and the Most Venerable Order of St John.

On the whole, however, the modern period is still overlooked by academic historians, in spite of the fact that there are important issues crying out for research. How have the Order of Malta and the Teutonic Order survived in recognizable forms as religious institutions? In this respect I look forward eagerly to the conclusions Henry Sire reaches as a result of his researches into the Order of Malta's archives in Rome. How did other Orders, especially those in Iberia, succeed in surviving in a somewhat changed form? Why is it that there were successful and popular revivals or re-creations of the Orders of St John and St Mary of the Germans as Protestant Christian Orders of Chivalry? These claimed descent from grand priories, bailiwicks and commanderies. Legitimized, or at least recognized, by European monarchies, they have never challenged the grand mastership of the Order of Malta, although for one moment after 1945 the Order of St John envisaged its own grand mastership. What is the relationship between the Orders and empire? In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Portuguese Orders became

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instruments of imperial government, and in the nineteenth century the Order of St John also came to be an agent of Imperial expansion. And what is it about the charisma of the Orders that led in the twentieth century to the emergence of many unrecognized imitations of St John of Jerusalem in the United States, but also elsewhere in the world?

As, with Anthony Luttrell and Alan Forey, one of the few survivors of the revival of academic interest in the Orders in the 1950s and 1960s, I cannot find words to express how gratifying it is to see their history in such a flourishing and healthy state.

1 Military orders at the frontier

Permeability and demarcation

Nikolas Jaspert

The aim of this chapter is to lay out some general thoughts on the subject of religious military orders and frontiers. Even though three geographical regions will be focussed on – the Baltic, the Levant and particularly the Iberian Peninsula – the objective is not so much to compare the knights' activities in these areas as to invert the perspective so as to use space – more exactly the notion of the frontier – as a heuristic tool.¹ In order to do so one must first determine the spectrum of meanings related to the term 'frontier'. On the basis of such a semantic analysis, I will then attempt to analyze which of these meanings coincide with conceptions of the religious military orders as developed by past and present historians. This exercise therefore necessarily implies historicizing research; it aims at putting historiographical strands within the field of medieval studies into relation with the frontier. On a more concrete level, I would like to determine to which extent inter-religious frontiers functioned as areas of exchange and communication and which role military orders fulfilled in this very specific field.

The juxtaposition of military orders and frontiers is not entirely new. One need only call to mind two important conferences and the resulting proceedings: the meeting hosted in Budapest and edited by József Laszlovszky and Zsolt Hunyadi in 2001² and a collection published the very same year by Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Pascal Buresi and Philippe Josserand under the title 'Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval'.³ Lately, Philippe Josserand has also presented some valuable thoughts on the subject, and the concept of the frontier has also been applied competently to the military orders in the Early Modern Mediterranean.⁴ But in spite of such studies, viewing the military orders from the vantage point of the frontier remains an exercise that helps assessing our field of research and its history anew.

An ambiguous term

The frontier and its equivalents in other European languages – *frontera*, *frontière*, *Grenze* and so forth. – are highly ambiguous terms that often obscure more than they clarify. Although the English speaker can distinguish between 'frontier' and 'border', other European languages cannot or do not with the necessary analytical clarity. Does the frontier refer to a clearly cut physical division, a dividing line in

the sense of a border, or rather to a larger area? Does it apply only to physical space or does it rather have a predominantly social and cultural dimension to it? Leaving the meta-language of modern research and going back in time to the object-language of the sources is not of much help in order to clarify these questions, because in the Middle Ages border zones were described by a number of terms – *limes*, *marca*, *meta*, *gades*, *terminus*, *finis*, *confinium*, *frontera*, *signum*, not to forget vernacular expressions like *graniza* or *tagr*.⁵ In fact, even these contemporary expressions mirror different understandings. *Frontera* as derived from the Latin *frons* picks up the notion of the other yonder the frontier,⁶ on the Iberian Peninsula particularly referring to the religious border between Islamic and Christian territories,⁷ whereas *marca* generally describes an administrative area on this side of the border.⁸ The Slavic term *granica* referred to a marked line and found its way into German in the thirteenth century, as documents by the Cistercians and, significantly, the Teutonic Order show.⁹ The Arabic *tagr* and Latin *limes* imply a passageway between areas, and *terminus* takes a central vantage point in order to describe a realm's furthest point of extension.¹⁰

Not surprisingly, therefore, historians too have underlined different characteristics of the frontier.¹¹ The nineteenth century, the era of nationalism par excellence, showed a particular interest in state borders, their creation and defence. These were imagined as clearly drawn lines of demarcation. But there were also other voices, which were similarly influenced by political and contemporary issues. No doubt because of the process of German unification in the nineteenth century, the historical geographer Friedrich Ratzel defined the frontier as a period in time, as an *Entwicklungsstufe* (a stage of development),¹² whereas Jakob Grimm emphasized in 1843 that one should interpret the *Grenze* as a principle that both divides and unites neighbours.¹³ Famously, the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner understood the frontier as America's defining feature, stressing its mobility, its cultural dimension and its societal impact on those that lived therein.¹⁴

Modern research has underlined the ambiguities of medieval frontiers as a short sketch of some current interpretations should suffice to illustrate. Earlier studies had postulated that borders as divisionary lines were a concept developed in modern times as opposed to the broader frontier zones of the Middle Ages. But the famous Iberian treaties of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in which zones for future conquest were neatly delineated, or the marked and fortified Hungarian or Baltic borders, show that medieval frontiers could indeed be both zones and lines.¹⁵ Paul Zumthor, Luciano Lagazzi and others have tried to grapple with the mental maps and the 'mesure du monde' of medieval people, a notion picked up in recent times by the adherents of the so-called 'spatial turn', who prefer to view space as socially constructed.¹⁶ As a result of cautionary tales of a looming 'clash of civilizations' and a growing interest in religious antagonism in the wake of 9/11, inter-religious frontiers have lately been very much in the limelight of historical and less academic research. But even the many historians who do not agree with the threatening scenarios created by Samuel Huntington and the like,¹⁷ even those who have undertaken 'xenological' studies into the construction of alterity, ultimately deal with the creation of identity through 'othering' and thus with culturally fashioned,

but socially nonetheless highly relevant societal demarcations.¹⁸ 'Xenology' necessitates identity and difference, it too focuses the lines drawn between religions, if only to criticize such divisions. According to this understanding, the religious frontier – be it between Muslims and Christians, be it between Christians and Pagans – separated large, religiously and thus culturally defined territories from one another.

A less antagonistic perspective, one which can ultimately be traced back to Frederick Jackson Turner, emphasizes the particular character of societies living in frontier zones. Such 'frontier societies' supposedly differed substantially from those in the heartland of any respective realm. They developed particular institutions and cultural traits because of the proximity of and more often than not the contention with the other. This leads to an understanding of the frontier particularly popular in recent years: that of a zone of intensive exchange between cultures. This transcultural character of medieval frontiers, their 'contact dimension' so to speak, has become the predominant field of research in the past two decades.¹⁹ Not only terrestrial but also maritime frontiers are being analyzed from this viewpoint.²⁰ As Nora Berend put it succinctly some years ago: 'Frontiers have two sides, and societies on both are part of the picture',²¹ and Peter Linehan has reminded us that 'medieval Spain's frontier was probably permeable from the outset'.²² Processes of cultural transfer and adaption are avidly sought after by colleagues and can indeed be identified.

The societal and historical backdrop to these varying modern notions of the frontier is all too apparent. The concept of transcultural exchange and permeability for example can easily be recognized as a counter narrative to the antagonistic interpretation of the 'clash of civilizations', as an attempt to identify modern notions of 'convivencia' and tolerance in the medieval period. In contrast, the renewed interest in frontiers is also – paradoxical as it might seem – the result of the breakdown or the obliteration of borders as a consequence of the processes of European unification, the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and globalization. Globalization and the overcoming of physical space caused by modern means of transport and communication on the other hand also lie behind the so-called 'spatial turn' that stresses the social and cultural construction of space as opposed to its physical dimension.²³ And finally, interest in alterity and the fashioning of the other is directly related to the experience of renewed immigration many European societies made at the turn of the century with the resulting necessity to integrate peoples of differing cultures, and even more so today in the wake of new mass migration.

To sum up the first part of this chapter: a comparative analysis of medieval terms and modern research allows us to distinguish at least six different understandings of the frontier concept. First of all the frontier as a physical, linear demarcation between states, then as the periphery of a realm, third as a boundary between religious or more generally cultural societal entities, furthermore as an area *sui generis* that brought forth frontier societies, fifth as a semantic tool geared at giving order to culturally or socially constructed spaces and finally as a zone of transfer between neighbours.

Turning from such general thoughts on medieval frontiers and historiography to the religious military orders, one needs to ask to which extent research focuses

of medievalists coincide with those of frontier studies as just laid out. We must determine if research into the medieval religious military orders has shifted in similar directions and centred on comparable themes as that of frontiers. Does the study of military orders at the frontier harbour analogous hermeneutic and heuristic potential? The main part of this chapter will be taken up by an attempt to answer these questions by analyzing in turn the six interpretations of medieval frontiers that have just been sketched.

Visions of military orders on the frontier

The most influential notion of nineteenth-century frontier research – that of the linear, defensive state border – can easily be discerned in many studies on the medieval religious military orders in the Latin East. According to this line of thought, traditionally popular in English research, the Crusader States were regularly assaulted by Muslim forces and therefore created a ring of castles that effectively defended their borders.²⁴ The same reasoning might be drawn upon to explain the construction of the so-called *Deutschordensburgen* or *Konventsburgen* in Prussia and lines of fortresses on the Iberian Peninsula. It is no coincidence that in popular thought, the Crac des Chevaliers, the Marienburg and other castles have become very much an emblem for the religious military orders. It is well known that the growth and waning of the Latin states in the Levant or the Iberian realms are indeed mirrored by the positioning and the size of orders' fortifications. Undoubtedly, medieval frontier societies did possess a clear notion of the borders between different political entities which could be – and were – secured by fortresses forming defensive networks. The military orders were often expressly entrusted with manning and maintaining this defence system, as Pope Innocent IV wrote in 1248 and the *definiciones* of Calatrava from 1325 clearly state, and the knights also depicted themselves as guardians of the frontier.²⁵ But it does not necessarily follow that medieval religious frontier areas such as the Principality of Antioch or the Kingdom of Jerusalem possessed clearly marked and delineated borders in the modern sense of the word, as Ronnie Ellenblum has recently shown, and the same holds true for Castile or Aragón.²⁶ More complex still are notions of maritime borders in the Mediterranean that military orders are said to have protected by their naval activities.²⁷ The interpretation of the knights as guardians and defenders of the border, this classical understanding of the relationship between military orders and frontier, ultimately has two modern backdrops: the interest of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the borders of the modern nation state and a very specific concept of the orders, namely that of a purely military institution.

In the last decades of the twentieth century this last perspective was effectively challenged by a second position that viewed the medieval military orders above all as a specific form of religious institute. The backdrop for this approach in the last quarter of the twentieth century has often been underlined by Jonathan Riley-Smith and others: the theology of liberation, the secularization of religious studies, the effects of the Second Vatican Council.²⁸ But at the turn of the century – and

similarly to frontier studies – political and societal changes have given this approach to the study of the military orders new impetus. Religious fundamentalism, particularly within Islam, but also in Christianity and Judaism, with the resulting growth of religiously motivated violence has heightened our interest not only in religious demarcations and borders, but also in those individuals who drew such lines between religions by both sacrificing their lives and taking those of others. Jihadism as a device of demarcation has heightened our interest in Christian martyrdom and religiously motivated violence in the Middle Ages, as recent collections of essays show.²⁹

Stressing the religious dimension of the brethren's frontier activities can hark back to a long tradition created and upheld over many centuries by the very orders themselves. As is well known, the frontier was an important *raison d'être* for the Hospitallers on Rhodes and Malta³⁰ and for the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic, and how challenging the disappearance of this argument was, is well illustrated by the decline and fall of the Teutonic Order State.³¹ This self-fashioning coincided with that of some countries where military orders were active, countries which declared their frontier status to be a foundational national feature. Well known cases are Poland and Hungary, the self-proclaimed 'shield of faith' (*propugnaculum fidei* or *antemurale fidei*); the Iberian Peninsula is another case in point, as Philippe Josserand's studies on the Spanish orders' historiography have shown.³²

Viewing medieval military orders not so much as a military but as a specific religious institute of the medieval Catholic church conveys a particular spatial dimension to research that links up with a third understanding of the frontier, that of the frontier as the periphery of a given entity. Just as the frontier stood in a complex, often not sufficiently studied relation to the heartland of any given realm,³³ frontier areas themselves were divided into immediate borderlands and frontier hinterlands.³⁴ Similarly, the houses of religious orders situated on the border to the *dār al-Islām* not only differed from those in the hinterland, but were also connected to these by very specific ties. This has been demonstrated for the Cistercians in the case of Spain and eastern central Europe³⁵ and equally holds good for the military orders. Here too, much research remains to be conducted, for example by reconstructing the exact lines of communication between frontiers and heartlands, particularly in the case of the Teutonic Order and the Latin States in the Levant, whereas important studies have recently been published for the Iberian case, where the respective orders' houses on the frontier have been put into relation with the headquarters.³⁶

In fact, Spain is the best example for showing how academic interest in the relation between political centres and their periphery can conflate with that of medieval military orders. Quite in accordance with Friedrich Ratzel's notion of the frontier as a temporary phase in state nation building, a series of studies have attempted to analyze the contribution Iberian brethren first made to the construction of the frontier that was then in turn subsequently integrated into the realm as a result of a consequent policy of the Castilian monarchs.³⁷ The role of the military orders on the British Isles has also been studied from this statist angle, for example by Helen Nicholson.³⁸ The Iberian case is again the best example for determining

the impact of military advance and political expansion, the shift from frontier to hinterland. This is particularly relevant to the military orders, as they received many territories and castles during phases of military advance at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century which subsequently lost their character as border zones respectively peripheral fortifications because of the progress of the so-called 'reconquest'.³⁹ Naturally, this had effects on the function of former frontline castles, and in some cases, the orders reacted to these changes by pondering a shift of their very headquarters to the new frontier, to Osuna in the case of Calatrava, to Morón in the case of Santiago.⁴⁰ Differentiating analytically between an order's central and its peripheral possessions also sharpens our awareness for the economic strains border fortifications put on the military orders, particularly in comparison to castles in the hinterland which were less in danger of being attacked and damaged.⁴¹

In the case of international orders such as the religious military orders, relations between the frontier and the heartland were not confined by the borders of any given realm. But this relation between centre and periphery is notoriously difficult to determine. The knights' *responsiones* are often mentioned in studies on the religious military orders, but seldom really studied in depth, not least because of scant source material on the subject.⁴² Recruitment and mobility are now being analyzed,⁴³ but to date, only the Teutonic Order has been systematically studied to any comprehensive degree.⁴⁴ Even more difficult to reconstruct than these relations are the means and ways in which the frontier experience was transported back and processed in the hinterland. Hagiography, propaganda and myth building are only the most visible communicative channels and media in this respect,⁴⁵ whereas individual experiences remain largely invisible – this too a modern research subject heavily marked by current debates on post-traumatic stress disorder and other effects of war experiences.

So far, I have dealt with three interpretations of medieval frontiers: frontiers as state borders, as lines of religious demarcation and as peripheries of larger entities. The fourth understanding of the frontier, that of an area *sui generis* that created a society and brought forth institutions of its own, requires more attention, because it arguably harbours particular potential for modern research.

The military orders and frontier societies

Frederick Jackson Turner's notion of the frontier as a state of mind of those who inhabited it has been extremely momentous.⁴⁶ His notion of frontier societies that bring forth institutions precisely relating to their frontier condition has been picked up in many fields of research, also in medieval studies. It has been convincingly applied to the Crusader States in the Levant⁴⁷ and to Livonia,⁴⁸ but probably Spanish scholarship has been most productive in this field, which has in fact become something of a trademark for Iberian medievalism. It might suffice to mention the eight conferences on medieval frontier studies – the *estudios de frontera* – published between 1996 and 2011, quite apart from a considerable number of proceedings focusing the Iberian frontiers.⁴⁹

The reasons for this interest are multiple: first, the documentary situation in Spain and Portugal is often exceptionally good, particularly for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as one can draw on royal archival holdings as well as on archives of frontier settlements and on patrimonial archives of landholders in border zones. On the basis of these sources, Iberian medievalists have amassed a substantial corpus of documentation over the last years that throws new light on life in medieval border zones. This documentation, though specific to the Iberian case, is a treasure trove for general questions on frontier societies. The second reason for the interest of Spanish academic circles in this subject is particular to present day Spain, a country strongly marked by different peoples, nationalities and regional communities subsumed under the administrative concept of the *autonomías*. Some decades ago, Andalusia, a region without a language differing from the official state language Castilian (in contrast to Galicia, Catalonia or the Basque Country) recognized that its geographical proximity to and historical connectedness with the Islamic world – in short: its frontier experience – could be seen as a singular trait that lay at the heart of Andalusian identity. This in turn favoured research into the specific case of the most prominent of all Iberian frontiers: the Andalusian.

Whatever the varying political, economic and societal factors behind academic research into medieval borders, the results have been quite astounding. But they are in no way homogeneous or generally accepted. Broadly speaking, one can distinguish two schools of thought. The first school, one could crudely term it the ‘School of frontier strife’, stresses the multiple effects that the proximity of a declared and militarily active enemy had upon frontier societies: the volatility and danger of the frontier favoured cattle-holding over other forms of agriculture; raid warfare and the constant threat of assaults and captivity not only created a climate of fear and vigilance, but also brought forth an extremely violent and harsh society. This image can also be applied to interreligious frontiers outside the Iberian Peninsula: the Christian-Pagan border between the Teutonic Order State and Lithuania is another case in point, as Werner Paravicini’s studies and subsequent research into the so-called *Preußenreisen* have shown.⁵⁰ Contrary to contemporary images of chivalric prowess, frontier warfare in the Baltic was indeed a dirty, brutal and cowardly form of violence that inflicted considerable hardship upon the rural population on both sides of the frontier.

Similar traits can be discerned with respect to the Iberian scenario. The mounted raids – the *cabalgadas* or *entradas* (arab. *algāra*) – and random kidnapping by trans-border raiders – *almogáveres* – committed by both sides are mentioned again and again in the sources, particularly in the municipal documentation, including that of settlements belonging to religious military orders.⁵¹ Morón de la Frontera for example was an important fortress and town of the Order of Alcántara, in fact so much so that for a time the knights seriously considered transferring their order’s headquarters to this frontier settlement.⁵² Morón’s municipal acts provide vivid insight into the many attacks and counter-attacks committed in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, mainly with the aim of robbing cattle or kidnapping humans for ransom.⁵³ Usually, the agents of these raids – either as

perpetrators or defenders – were urban militias, but sometimes, the brethren of the military orders also took part in such activities, as in 1404, when the *Comendador Mayor* of the Order of Alcántara was able to impede the theft of an entire herd in a skirmish which ended with the death of 89 Muslim raiders.⁵⁴ Sources such as these are so vivid and the cases so numerous that the author of a recent study has termed the Granadan-Castilian border a *frontera caliente*,⁵⁵ and a number of recent studies focus on the frontier's military dimension.⁵⁶

That being said, there is also an important counter narrative which can equally fall back on a substantial corpus of documentation in its support. This school, one might term it the 'School of frontier harmony' as opposed to the 'School of frontier strife', is conspicuously indebted to the *convivencia* paradigm introduced by the Spanish philologist Americo Castro, which – after having been viciously slandered particularly in Iberian academia – has in the meantime gained considerable ground among historians, particularly in the United States. Whereas some of its adherents take an extremely one-sided and all too idyllic view on interreligious cohabitation, others do not negate the existence of aggression and violence on the border.⁵⁷ But they underline the alternations between periods of peace and war,⁵⁸ more important to our subject, they also point out elements that contradict our notion of insurmountable opposition or even confined endemic violence between Muslims and Christians.

And indeed, the intercultural frontier brought forth a series of such institutions worthy of attention. For example, military contingents are known to have served as special fighting forces on the other side of the religious border. This is illustrated both by Christian militias serving Muslim sultans in Northern Africa and the Kingdom of Granada and by Muslim cavalry doing service at Christian courts. In the Iberian context one might mention the Moorish guard in Castile and the Muslim cavalry in Aragon, which have received competent treatment by Ana Echevarría and Hussein Fancy respectively.⁵⁹ These *jinétes* in Castile, *genets* in the Crown of Aragon,⁶⁰ were comparatively immune to courtly power play and possessed specific fighting skills. Sicily in the Norman and Staufen period is another well known example for the employment of Muslim militias by Christians, and as far as the Latin East is concerned we still cannot definitely answer with certainty which groups or fighters were encompassed by the tantalizing term *turcoples*.⁶¹

Even more singular to the religious frontier were institutions precisely dedicated to countering the adverse effects of interreligious violence.⁶² Such offices emerged on the Iberian frontier in the course of the fourteenth century and in fact formed a complex system of conflict containment. Muslim and Christian judges were commissioned to dispense justice jointly on contentious issues. Known as 'judges between Christians and Muslims' or 'judges of complaints' (*alcaldes entre los cristianos y moros – jueces de las querellas*), these officials formed joint Christian-Muslim commissions the aim of which was to facilitate solving disputes without resorting to reprisals. Other offices were created in order to ease the liberation of captives: the Castilian *alfaques* – a word derived from the Arabic *fakkāk*⁶³ – and the *exeas* in Aragón took on this job of mediation and negotiating.⁶⁴ Since the fourteenth century, rangers – *rastreros* or *fieles del rastro* – were charged with

locating such victims and collecting trustworthy information on both sides of the border as to what had actually occurred. Without a doubt, the implementation of such a complex system must also be seen as a reaction to endemic violence, kidnapping and theft, and doubts have been expressed as to the efficiency of institutionalized joint law courts.⁶⁵ But such offices and institutions are also a clear indication that frontier societies went to a certain degree of trouble in order to contain interreligious conflicts. Violence and negotiation marked the frontier simultaneously. In a very similar vein, frontier zones were at particular times and in certain areas put under a specific form of contracted peace agreements. Significantly termed *Cartes de germandat* – ‘diplomas of brotherhood’ – in Aragonese sources and ‘contracts of neighbourhood’ (*contratos de vecindad*) in Castile,⁶⁶ such documents were signed by Muslim and Christian dignitaries precisely with the aim of diminishing the number of encroachments along the frontier. Or as the Mamluk official al-Qalqashandi lyrically put in the beginning of the fifteenth century, these contracts were geared at ‘quenching defiance and lowering the eyes of ambition’.⁶⁷

Needless to say, the prolonged existence of religious minorities under both Christian and Muslim dominion is an element particularly stressed by the adherents of the ‘School of frontier harmony’.⁶⁸ Here, however, caution is required, for in the Iberian case the Muslim population was in fact often expelled precisely from frontier settlements in the course of the conquest, usually not as an immediate result of their defeat, but rather in a staged process. However, recent research has equally identified the persistence of groups of Muslim inhabitants of frontier areas who add to the substantial and well studied number of communities in the hinterland such as the Ebro valley and the kingdom of Valencia.⁶⁹ The same can be said for the Baltic area, where not only the persistence of the local population is well attested, but also their prolonged adherence to their ancient beliefs, putting serious doubts as to the effect of missionary activities on the part of the knights.⁷⁰

Not to speak of the situation in the peripheral areas of the Latin States of the Levant. Here, on the border, even forms of joint landholding are attested, a further institute particular to frontier societies and regions. For the Latin East, such *condominia* (Arabic *munāṣṣafāt*) were studied by Michael Köhler over 20 years ago.⁷¹ All in all, Köhler counted more than 30 cases of Muslim-Christian *condominia*. His book is also, in fact primarily, a thorough study of interreligious diplomacy, another phenomenon closely tied to the frontier which is receiving growing attention lately, particularly in French scholarship. As such recent works show, professional expertise in Muslim-Christian diplomacy during the late Middle Ages was often provided by frontier specialists who had acquired the cultural and sometimes linguistic knowledge necessary to conduct diplomacy successfully.⁷²

Where do military orders stand in all this, one might ask? Were they only institutional remnants of antagonistic relations between peoples of different creed? We must look with a bit more detail into the fields just enumerated – that is the world of conflict containment, of subjected religious minorities, of joint landholding and of diplomacy – in order to determine to which extent the religious military orders were indeed an integral part of late medieval frontier societies. This too is

not an absolutely new question, for in the last two decades military religious orders have begun to be seen in some countries as institutions particularly important to and specific of the medieval frontier. As Michael Köhler, Peter Holt, Jochen Burgdorf, Ronnie Ellenblum and others have convincingly shown, the Hospitallers and Templars at least were an integral part of the *condominia* system.⁷³ A document from 1233 mentions the *terra partitionis* shared between the Hospitallers and the Sultan of Aleppo, and in the mid-thirteenth century the Templars had to be prevented by King Louis IX of France from creating a *condominium* with al-Malik al Nāṣir Yūsuf.⁷⁴ A particularly explicit document is the agreement reached between the Hospitallers under Hugh Revel and Sultan Baybars in 1267 concerning jointly administered land west of the Orontes.⁷⁵ Of course this contract was the result of a very concrete political and military situation, the expression of military weakness on the part of the Order of St John,⁷⁶ but for our question this is a secondary point. More relevant is the fact that such contracts are mentioned quite often in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth century, particularly in Arabic sources, and military orders played an important role therein. Though joint landholding is also attested on the Iberian Peninsula, military orders do not appear to have engaged in this particular form of *condominium*.⁷⁷ The Teutonic Order in turn went to great pains to clearly demarcate its borders with all of its neighbours except the Lithuanians – agreements which in turn were brought about with the help of commissions formed by both parties.⁷⁸ The relation with the Lithuanians in turn was marked by both frequent truces and by individual regulations which allowed certain groups to cross the border while hunting; but Pagan-Christian *condominia* were no part of the Teutonic Knights' frontier organization.⁷⁹

Turning to religious minorities under the knights' rule, it is a matter of course that military orders employed non-Christian workers, not only as slaves.⁸⁰ The extent of free Muslim or Pagan populations naturally varied from region to region, and major areas were completely colonized by the Christian victors; but others maintained non-Christian communities as vassals over centuries. This is well attested for the Baltic area and in the Latin East, but it also applies to the Iberian frontier,⁸¹ where historians are lucky enough to possess many telling documents such as the contracts signed by the Muslim inhabitants of Grisén or La Almunia de Doña Godina with the Knights Hospitallers;⁸² where an entire corpus of documents has allowed for writing the history of the Muslim communities under Templar and Hospitaller rule in Ascó and Miravet;⁸³ where one can follow the fate of the Galip family of Saragossa, Muslim subjects of the local Templars, over several generations;⁸⁴ or where the dealings of the Muslim inhabitants in Avis, the very headquarters of the order, have recently been traced.⁸⁵ We also know that the Order of Santiago or that of Montesa received the royal taxes levied upon subjected Muslims (*mudéjares*) living in their territories.⁸⁶ It appears that the knights showed no particular interest in converting these vassals to Christianity.⁸⁷ In fact, in certain singular cases they even provided for joint Christian-Muslim places of worship: the Marian shrine of Saidnaya under Templar administration is the most striking example for such syncretistic practices under the knights' supervision.⁸⁸

In certain, albeit very few cases, the military orders might have included Muslims into fighting forces. The Templar Master William of Beaujeu was – perhaps unjustly – accused of holding a personal Muslim guard,⁸⁹ and the order of Calatrava supposedly led Muslim vassals against the Bishop of Toledo in 1242.⁹⁰ The Teutonic Order is also known to have employed recently subdued Baltic peoples in Livonia.⁹¹ This necessarily leads to the question, if knights of the religious military orders themselves acted as members of a religious – Christian – minority on the other side of the border or even fought in the service of Muslim rulers. This is difficult to imagine, and indeed it is not safely attested, although we do have the case of the Templar Bernat de Fuentes who headed the Christian militia at the Hafsid court in Tunis, however only as a result of his order's suppression and his brethren's persecution at the hands of his coreligionists.⁹² All in all therefore, such references to cross-cultural combating are more anecdotic than trustworthy.

More numerous are references to the knights' diplomatic activities. Peace agreements such as that between King Amalric of Jerusalem and the Fatimid Kalif Al-'Āḍid in 1167 were reached by mediation of the Templar Geoffrey Fulcher who evidently had a certain degree of intercultural expertise;⁹³ other Templar and Hospitaller knights are repeatedly attested as envoys during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,⁹⁴ and the mediating intervention of a Templar knight secured an agreement between King Louis IX of France and Mamluk officials in 1250.⁹⁵ On the Iberian scenario, both Castilian and Aragonese monarchs frequently fell back upon the brethren as ambassadors before Muslim rulers in the course of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and when the Catalanian merchants attempted to reach an agreement with the Mamluks in 1429, the settlement finally came about thanks to the mediation of a Hospitaller brother named *Ifra Antuniyu Fuluriyan* in the Arabic document: nobody else than the later Master Antoni de Fluvià.⁹⁶

In certain cases, orders also seem to have partaken in the system of conflict containment developed on the Iberian frontiers in the late Middle Ages. The master of Santiago, Vasco Rodriguez, is attested as *adelantado mayor* of the *adelantamiento de frontera* in 1331, a royal territorial unit for solving judicial disputes.⁹⁷ But these did not necessarily involve conflicts with Muslims. More telling is the case of Morón de la Frontera, where a 'judge for affairs between Christians and Muslims' was established by the town council, surely not without permission by its overlord, the knights of Alcántara.⁹⁸ In the Latin East too, Hospitaller delegates joined Muslim judges on the Orontes in cases of legal disputes concerning their condominium. But it is difficult to say if knights actively participated in such courts as judges.⁹⁹ Neither do the vernacular romances and ballads that convey vivid images of life on the Iberian frontier, the *romances de frontera*,¹⁰⁰ give particular prominence to the military orders or the knights, although one should not forget the *Romance del Maestre de Calatrava* which relates the many combats and duels an anonymous master fought with a series of Muslim paladins.¹⁰¹

In contrast, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some military orders actually engaged in the task of ransoming captives on the frontier. The Order of Santiago established a hospital in Toledo in 1180 which was dedicated to both caring for the needy and ransoming prisoners; the knights established five further

charitable houses in 1227 in the Kingdom of Castile alone.¹⁰² The Order of Montjoy was joined with the Order of the Redeemer, another institution dedicated to the ransoming of captives from Islam and founded by Alfonso II of Aragon.¹⁰³ In the Latin East, only the Hospitallers appear to have partaken in redemptionist activities to any larger extent, whereas the Templars and Teutonic Knights were reluctant as to this form of charitable work, although they did agree to treaties that included the exchange of their brethren.¹⁰⁴

Most important, the religious military orders acted on the frontier as diplomatic agents in their own right by signing armistices or treaties with Muslim or pagan powers. This is a matter of course for the Teutonic Order State, as Klaus Neitmann's pertinent study on the 'Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens' soundly demonstrates.¹⁰⁵ But it is also true for the Levant and to a lesser extent for the Iberian Peninsula. The Templars and Hospitallers received permission to sign armistices independently: in 1142 Raymond of Tripoli conveyed this right on the Hospitallers, and similar privileges were subsequently issued.¹⁰⁶ Consequently, the orders often acted as autonomous entities on the frontier, particularly when royal power was weak, as the treaty between Hugh Revel and Baybars shows.¹⁰⁷ Exceptional, but revealing, is the case of Don Rodrigo Manrique, who aspired to the mastership of the Order of Santiago in the 1430s and 1440s and had no scruples in signing military alliances with the Muslim Nasrides against his Christian coreligionists in order to reach this aim.¹⁰⁸

To sum up the central part of this chapter: frontier areas between Latin and Muslim respectively Latin and Pagan held territories were strongly marked by both the challenges that religious antagonism posed upon them and by very concrete attempts to mitigate conflict and reach some form of cohabitation. The knights of the military orders took part in such attempts, but not in a prominent fashion, particularly as far as the development of concrete frontier institutions is concerned.

Transmission and transfer

The last two interpretations of pre-modern frontiers – the transfer processes and the wide field of mental and cultural boundaries – will be dealt with in a rather cursory manner. A notable feature of the frontier is precisely its degree of hybridity.¹⁰⁹ Archaeological and artistic evidence as well as written sources such as inventories show to which extent frontier societies mingled elements of their respective hinterlands. There is no need to deal with the vexed question as to what extent military religious orders adapted oriental elements in their fortifications or their armory. But a register of tax payments in the town of Morón, an important centre of the Order of Alcántara, names an amazing amount of oriental products that highlight the role of the frontier as an area of transfer: *almaizares de seda, coronas moriscas con orillas de seda, alhofijas moriscas con orillas coloradas, sábanas moriscas, alfardas de seda moriscas, . . . alfaremes moriscos*.¹¹⁰ Capitular records and tax inventories provide insight into transcultural commerce and show that the knights in fact participated therein. Notably, several castles of the Order of

Santiago along the Andalusian frontier have convincingly been identified as 'customs castles' (*castillos portazgoeros*), because they effectively served as border crossings between al-Andalus and Castile, where the knights collected customs for goods transported from the dār al-Islām to Christian territories and vice versa.¹¹¹ Similarly, in the Latin East castles in the North of the Crusaders States such as Margat served as toll-stations, and Ibn Jubair relates that the fortress of Toron also fulfilled this function.¹¹²

But did the knights reflect on this at all, were they aware of the issue of hybridity and transfer or even of socially and culturally constructed spaces? Hardly – and not only because we are dealing with modern concepts. It is also because the knights of the religious military orders were not precisely contemplative. Despite all attempts to identify an extensive literary culture, with few exceptions the world of these men was not that of intellectual reflection.¹¹³ Although in certain moments in time they might have acted in such a way, their actual *raison d'être* did not predestine them as cultural brokers. However, when pragmatic reasons commended it, they appear to have fulfilled such functions; *conveniencia*, not *convivencia* – convenience, not broadmindedness or even tolerance – lead the way.¹¹⁴ The religious military orders fostered permeability at the frontier to a larger degree than one might expect. But they do not appear to have played an important role in processes of cultural transfer and hybridization. Demarcation and permeability were simultaneously two aspects of their activities.

Our current yearning for more peaceful forms of cohabitation between Muslim societies and those sometimes termed Christian, but more often named Western, undoubtedly guides the pen and leads the steps of those in search of medieval frontier harmony. But to my way of thinking, it is not only legitimate, but also necessary to apply such an approach to the history of the religious military orders. First, because of the longevity and the head start of competing historiographical traditions that focus on interreligious antagonism. And second, because new questions might bring to light new sources or let us reread well known documents in a different fashion. Much research is still necessary in order to provide enough documentary material that will permit a more nuanced view. The knights of the religious military orders were not guardians of faith alone, but they should not uncritically be termed cultural brokers either. Neither can there be any serious doubt that reality did not lie in the middle, for the military orders were indeed primarily military, religious and economic institutes marked by their hostile attitude to Muslims or Pagans. But highlighting both demarcation and permeability might help us realize that frontier realities and the activities of the military religious orders were far more complex than medievalists have often been prone to believe.

Notes

- 1 In this chapter I am applying thoughts to the religious military orders which were developed in N. Jaspert, 'Grenzen und Grenzräume im Mittelalter: Forschungen, Konzepte und Begriffe', in *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich. Der*

- Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa*, ed. K. Herbers and N. Jaspert (Berlin, 2007), pp. 43–70. My thanks go to Wolf Zöller and Jochen Schenk for hints and corrections regarding this chapter.
- 2 *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001).
 - 3 *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI–XIV)*, ed. C. de Ayala Martínez, P. Buresi and P. Josserand (Madrid, 2001).
 - 4 P. Josserand, 'Frontière', in *Prier et combattre: dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. N. Bériou and P. Josserand (Paris, 2009), pp. 372–75; P. Josserand, 'Frontières et ordres militaires dans le monde latin au Moyen Âge', in *Frontières oubliées, frontières retrouvées: marches et limites anciennes en France et en Europe*, ed. M. Catala, D. Le Page and J.-C. Meuret (Rennes, 2011), pp. 189–98; A. Brogini, *Malte, frontière de chrétienté: (1530–1670)* (Rome, 2006).
 - 5 On terminology see: W. Schich, 'Die "Grenze" im östlichen Mitteleuropa im hohen Mittelalter', *Siedlungsforschung. Archäologie-Geschichte-Geographie*, 9 (1991), 135–45; J. Kramer, 'Bezeichnungen für "Grenze" in den europäischen Sprachen', *Diagonal*, 2 (1993), 15–24; H. W. Nicklis, 'Von der "Grenitze" zur Grenze. Die Grenzidee des lateinischen Mittelalters', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 128 (1992), 1–29; M. Pfister, 'Grenzbezeichnungen im Italo-romanischen und Galloromanischen', in *Grenzen und Grenzregionen = Frontières et régions frontalières*, ed. W. Haubrichs and R. Schneider (Saarbrücken, 1993), pp. 37–48; R. Marti, 'Grenzbezeichnungen – grenzüberschreitend', in *Grenzen erkennen – Begrenzungen überwinden. Festschrift für Reinhard Schneider zur Vollendung seines 65. Lebensjahrs*, ed. W. Haubrichs, K.–U. Jäschke and M. Oberweis (Sigmaringen, 1999), pp. 19–33.
 - 6 Kramer, 'Bezeichnungen für "Grenze" in den europäischen Sprachen', 19–20; J. P. Molénat, 'Les diverses notions de "frontière" dans la region de Castilla-La Mancha au temps des Almoravides et des Almohades', in *Alarcos 1195 = al-Arak 592* (Cuenca, 1996), pp. 105–23; A. Bazzana, 'El concepto de frontera en el Mediterráneo occidental en la Edad Media', in *Actas del Congreso La Frontera Oriental Nazarí como Sujeto Histórico (s. XIII – XVI)*, ed. P. Segura Artero, Colección Actas, 29 (Almería, 1997), pp. 25–46.
 - 7 J. Gautier Dalché, 'Islam et chrétienté en Espagne au XIIe siècle: contribution à l'étude de la notion de frontière', *Hespéris*, 46 (1959), 183–217; P. Sénac, 'Islam et chrétienté dans l'Espagne du haut Moyen Âge: la naissance d'une frontière', *Studia Islamica*, 89 (1999), 91–108; A. Bazzana, P. Guichard and P. Sénac, 'La frontière dans l'Espagne médiévale', in *Frontière et peuplement dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Âge*, ed. J.-M. Poisson (Rome, 1992), pp. 35–59; M. I. Pérez de Tudela Velasco, 'El concepto de frontera en la historiografía medieval hispana', *Castellum*, 2 (1996), 131–40; P. Buresi, 'The Appearance of the Frontier Concept in the Iberian Peninsula: At the Crossroads of Local, National and Pontifical Strategies (11th–13th Centuries)', in *Frontiers and Borderlands*, ed. W. Falkowski and A. Janeczek (Warsaw, 2011), pp. 81–100.
 - 8 R. Schmidt-Wiegand, 'Marca. Zu den Begriffen "Mark" und "Gemarkung" in den Leges Barbarorum', in *Stammesrecht und Volkssprache. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zu den Leges barbarorum*, ed. D. Hüpper (Weinheim, 1991), pp. 335–52. On the debate as to what extent the *marca* was populated: M. Zimmermann, 'Le rôle de la frontière dans la formation de la Catalogne (IX–XIIème siècle)', in *Las sociedades de frontera en la España medieval*, ed. A. M. Barrero, J. A. García de Cortázar, M. L. Mattoso, J. I. Ruiz de la Peña and M. Zimmermann (Zaragoza, 1993), pp. 12–26; J. A. García de Cortázar, 'De una sociedad de frontera (el Valle del Duero en el siglo X) a una frontera entre sociedades (el Valle del Tajo en el siglo XII)', in *Las sociedades de frontera en la España medieval*, ed. A. M. Barrero, J. A. García de Cortázar, M. L. Mattoso, J. I. Ruiz de la Peña and M. Zimmermann (Zaragoza, 1993), pp. 51–68, especially p. 54; L. McCrank, 'Medieval Tarragona: A Frontier Town in New Catalonia', in *El Món urbà*

- a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als Decrets de Nova Planta, ed. S. Claramunt (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 441–74, especially p. 451.
- 9 H. Karp, *Grenzen in Ostmitteleuropa während des Mittelalters: ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Grenzlinie aus dem Grenzsaum* (Cologne, 1972); H. Kolb, 'Zur Frühgeschichte des Wortes "Grenze"', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 226 (1989), 344–56; Schich, 'Die "Grenze" im östlichen Mitteleuropa im hohen Mittelalter'; Nicklis, 'Von der "Grenitze" zur Grenze'; G. P. Marchal, 'Grenzerfahrung und Raumvorstellungen: Zur Thematik des Kolloquiums', in *Grenzen und Raumvorstellungen: (11. – 20. Jh.) = Frontières et conception de l'espace*, ed. G. P. Marchal (Zürich, 1996), pp. 11–25, especially pp. 17–18. See the example of Masovia: G. Mysliwski, 'Boundaries and Men in Poland from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century: the Case of Masovia', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 217–37. Other cases of marking borders: L. Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra: determinazione dei confini e percezione dello spazio nell'alto Medioevo* (Bologna, 1991).
 - 10 Cf. García de Cortazar, 'De una sociedad de frontera', p. 53 with further references; P. Chalmeta Gendrán, 'El concepto de tagr', in *La Marche supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident chrétien*, ed. P. Sénac (Madrid, 1991), pp. 15–27; E. Manzano Moreno, 'La proyección de l'estat omeia al Tagr', in *L'Islam i Catalunya*, ed. M. P. Acien Almansa (Barcelona, 1998), pp. 65–9.
 - 11 Recent studies with references to prior scholarship: *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich: der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropas*, ed. K. Herbers and N. Jaspert (Berlin, 2007); *Faktum und Konstrukt: politische Grenzziehungen im Mittelalter: Verdichtung – Symbolisierung – Reflexion*, ed. N. Bock (Münster, 2011); *Frontières oubliées, frontières retrouvées: marches et limites anciennes en France et en Europe*, ed. M. Catala, M. Catala, D. Le Page and J.-C. Meuret (Rennes, 2011); *Frontiers and Borderlands*, ed. W. Falkowski and A. Janeczek (Warsaw, 2011).
 - 12 F. Ratzel, *Politische Geographie* (München, 1897).
 - 13 J. Grimm, 'Deutsche Grenzalterthümer (1843)', in *Kleine Schriften*, ed. J. Grimm (Berlin, 1865), II, pp. 30–74, citation p. 31, on "Grenzen": 'nicht blosz als trennendes, sondern zugleich als einigendes princip behandelt werden, aus welchen neben der nothwendigen scheid ein band der nachbarschaft und gemeinschaft sich entfalte'.
 - 14 F. J. Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893* (Washington, DC, 1894), pp. 199–227, later reprinted as chapter 1 of: F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921).
 - 15 N. Berend, 'Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier', *The Medieval History Journal*, 2 (1999), 55–72, especially p. 69; P. Guichard, 'Avant Tordesillas: La délimitation des terres de reconquête dans l'Espagne des XIIe et XIIIe siècles', in *Le partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la méditerranée médiévale*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris, 1998), pp. 453–60; N. Berend, 'Hungary, "the Gate of Christendom"', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 201–05.
 - 16 P. Zumthor, *La mesure du monde: représentation de l'espace au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1993); Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra*; cf. Marchal, 'Grenzerfahrung und Raumvorstellungen', and H. Maurer, 'Naturwahrnehmung und Grenzbeschreibung im hohen Mittelalter. Beobachtungen an italienischen Quellen', in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte. Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Borchardt and E. Bünz (Stuttgart, 1998), I, pp. 239–53; C. Gozalbes Cravioto, 'Reflexiones sobre el concepto antiguo y medieval de frontera', in *III Estudios de frontera. Convivencia, defensa y comunicación en la frontera. En memoria de Don Juan de Mata Carriazo y Arroquia*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. Rodríguez Molina (Jaén, 2000), pp. 361–74.

- 17 S. P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, NY, 1996).
- 18 Ayala Martínez, Buresi and Josserand, *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval*; M. Apostolov, *The Christian-Muslim Frontier: A Zone of Contact, Conflict or Cooperation* (London, 2004); P. Buresi, *La frontière entre chrétienté et Islam dans la péninsule Ibérique: du Tage à la Sierra Morena (fin XIe-milieu XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2004); Falkowski and Janeczek, *Frontiers and Borderlands*.
- 19 *Challenging Boundaries: Global Flows, Territorial Identities*, ed. M. J. Shapiro (Minneapolis, MN, 1996); K. S. Guthke, *Die Erfindung der Welt: Globalität und Grenzen in der Kulturgeschichte der Literatur* (Tübingen, 2005). Cf. *Frontière et peuplement dans le monde méditerranéen au moyen âge*, ed. J. Poisson (Rome, 1992); L. Benevolo and B. Albrecht, *Grenzen. Typographie-Geschichte-Architektur* (Frankfurt, 1995); M. Bauer and T. Rahn, *Die Grenze: Begriff und Inszenierung* (Berlin, 1997); *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, ed. D. Power and N. Standen (Houndmills, 1999); *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot, 2002); *States, Nations, and Borders: the Ethics of Making Boundaries*, ed. A. Buchanan and M. Moore (Cambridge, 2003); *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. F. Curta (Turnhout, 2005); *Grenzen weltweit: Zonen, Linien, Mauern im historischen Vergleich*, ed. J. Ö. Becker (Vienna, 2006).
- 20 Pérez de Tudela Velasco, *El concepto de frontera en la historiografía medieval hispana*; J. E. López de la Coca Castañer, 'Consideraciones sobre la frontera marítima', in *Actas del Congreso La Frontera Oriental Nazarí como Sujeto Histórico (S. XIII – XVI)* ed. P. Segura Artero (Almería, 1997), pp. 391–408; R. Salicrú i Lluch, 'La frontera marítima en el Mediterráneo bajomedieval', in *Convivencia, defensa y comunicación en la frontera. III Estudios de Frontera* (Jaén, 2000), pp. 681–709; C. Gonzalbes Cravioto, 'La frontera marítima del occidente malagueño en los documentos geográficos medievales cristianos', in *Historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la frontera. IV Estudios de Frontera, congreso celebrado en Alcalá la Real en noviembre de 2001. Homenaje a Don Enrique Toral y Peñaranda*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. R. Molina (Jaén, 2002), pp. 247–66; María J. Latorre Rodríguez, 'El agua como frontera', in *Historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la frontera. IV Estudios de Frontera, congreso celebrado en Alcalá la Real en noviembre de 2001. Homenaje a Don Enrique Toral y Peñaranda* ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. R. Molina (Jaén, 2002), pp. 311–24.
- 21 Berend, 'Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier', p. 64.
- 22 P. Linehan, 'At the Spanish Frontier', in *The Medieval World*, ed. P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (London, 2001), pp. 37–59, especially pp. 38, 46, 54; Pfister, 'Grenzbezeichnungen im Italo-romanischen und Galloromanischen'.
- 23 *Spatial Turn: das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften*, ed. J. Döring and T. Thielmann (Bielefeld, 2008); *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. B. Warf and S. Arias (London, 2009); *Raumkonzepte: disziplinäre Zugänge*, ed. I. Baumgärtner, P. Klumbies, F. Sick and M. Kohls (Göttingen, 2009); S. Rau, *Räume: Konzepte, Wahrnehmungen, Nutzungen* (Frankfurt am Main, 2013).
- 24 H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1–10; R. Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 3–39; A. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlements and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120–1291)* (London, 2008), pp. 12–14 provide overviews of earlier research. For the Iberian Peninsula see the journal *Castillos de España* and the proceedings of several pertinent series of conferences (*Congresos de Castellología Iberica; Congresos Internacionales sobre Fortificaciones*) as well as the *Estudios de Frontera* mentioned in note 49. For the Baltic: T. Torbus, *Die Konventsburgen im Deutschordensland Preußen* (München, 1998); T. Torbus, *Zamki krzyżackie* (Wrocław, 2010).

- 25 A. Quintana Prieto, *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV, 1243–1254* (Roma, 1987), p. 64, doc. 35: the knights were exempt from attending the Cistercian General Chapter *circa defensionem frontarie contra infideles Hispaniae occupati*; C. de Ayala Martínez, 'Presencia y protagonismo en las Órdenes Militares castellano-leonesas en la frontera (s. XIII–XIV)', in *Hacedores de frontera: estudios sobre el contexto social de la frontera en la España medieval*, ed. M. A. Rodríguez de la Peña (Madrid, 2009), pp. 161–78, especially p. 161; J. O'Callaghan, 'The Earliest "Difiniciones" of the Order of Calatrava, 1304–1383', *Traditio*, 17 (1961), 255–84, especially p. 273 (doc. 27); P. Josserand, *Eglise et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique: les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252–1369)* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 69, 88–92, 140–63.
- 26 C. de Ayala Martínez, 'Fortalezas y creación de espacio político: la Orden de Santiago y el territorio conquense—siglos XII–XIII', *Meridies*, 2 (1995), 23–47; A. Ruibal Rodríguez, 'Funciones de las fortalezas en los territorios de las Órdenes Militares', in *II Estudios de frontera. Actividad y vida en la frontera. En memoria de Don Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. Rodríguez Molina (Jaén, 1998), pp. 709–18; F. García Fitz, 'Guerra y fortificaciones en la plena Edad Media peninsular: una reflexión en torno a la existencia y funcionalidad bélica de los "sistemas defensivos"', in *Funciones de la red castral fronteriza. Homenaje a Don Juan Torres Fontes*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. Rodríguez Molina (Jaén, 2004), pp. 223–42; Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories*, pp. 105–85; Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 103–5. Ellenblum's study in itself shows just how much such a deconstruction of the military orders' contribution to the creation of state borders is marked by contemporary political issues, in this case those of present day Israel.
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- 72 R. Salicrú Llach, 'Más allá de la mediación de la palabra: negociación con los infieles y mediación cultural en la Baja Edad Media', in *Negociar en la Edad Media = Négocier au Moyen Âge*, ed. M. T. Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona, 2005), pp. 409–40; R. Salicrú i Llach, 'La diplomacia y las embajadas como expresión de los contactos interculturales entre cristianos y musulmanes en el Mediterráneo occidental durante la Baja Edad Media', *Estudios de Historia de España*, 9 (2007), 77–106; D. Valérian, 'Les agents de la diplomatie des souverains maghrébins avec le monde chrétien (XIIe–XVe siècles)', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 38 (2008), 886–900; N. Jaspert and S. Kolditz, 'Christlich-muslimische Außenbeziehungen im Mittelmeerraum: Zur räumlichen und religiösen Dimension mittelalterlicher Diplomatie', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 41 (2014), 1–88.
- 73 Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*; P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995); J. Burgdorf, 'Die Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung?', in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung–Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. D. Bauer, K. Herbers and N. Jaspert (Frankfurt a. M., 2001), pp. 165–200, especially p. 193; Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories*.
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- 75 Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 32–41.
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- 78 K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen 1230–1449: Studien zur Diplomatie eines spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Territorialstaates* (Cologne, 1986), pp. 505–68, particularly pp. 508–15, 542–44, 551–9; a condominium was created in 1433 on the border to Lithuania, which was by then Christian, see *ibid.*, p. 373. See also S. Gouguenheim, *Les chevaliers teutoniques* (Paris, 2007), pp. 457–63. In the Treaty of Bresc (31 December 1435 / 1 August 1436) regular 'Richttage' were stipulated to be held at the borders between the Teutonic Order State and Samogitia, Lithuania and Poland in order to solve border disputes with the help of deputies: R. Schneider, 'Institutionen zur Regelung von Grenzkonflikten im Mittelalter', in *Granice i pogranicza, język i historia: materiały międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej*, ed. S. Dubisz and A. Nagórko (Warsaw, 1994), pp. 113–32, especially pp. 125–7.
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- 80 A. Yelo Templado, 'Los vasallos mudéjares de la Orden de Santiago en el Reino de Murcia (Siglos XIV–XV)', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 11 (1981), 447–58; A. Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Conversion of Muslims in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002), 1–22; M. L. Ledesma Rubio, 'Los vasallos mudéjares de la Orden del Hospital en Aragón', in *Actas del primer simposio histórico de la Orden de San Juan en España* (Toledo, 2003), pp. 161–4; On Muslim slaves see: A. Echevarria Arsuaga, 'Esclavos musulmanes en los hospitales de cautivos de la orden militar de Santiago (ss. XII–XIII)', *Al-Qantara*, 28 (2007), 463–86.
 - 81 C. Almagro Vidal and L. R. Villegas Díaz, 'Sobre persistencia de población mudéjar en el Campo de Calatrava. Algunas noticias más', in *Islam y Cristiandad. Siglos XII–XVI: Homenaje a María Jesús Viguera Molins*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. Rodríguez Molina (Jaén, 2009), pp. 37–55; F. Ruiz Gómez, *Los orígenes de las órdenes militares y la repoblación de los territorios de La Mancha (1150–1250)* (Madrid, 2003), pp. 192–3; L. R. Villegas Díaz, 'Acerca de la permanencia de población musulmana en el Campo de Calatrava', in *Población y poblamiento. Homenaje al profeso González Jiménez*, ed. J. Rodríguez Molina and F. Toro Ceballos (Jaén, 2006), pp. 779–92; C. Barquero Goñi, 'Los mudéjares bajo el señorío de la Orden del Hospital en la España Medieval (siglos XII–XV)', in *Biografías mudéjares o La experiencia de ser minoría: biografías islámicas en la España cristiana*, ed. A. Echevarria Arsuaga (Madrid, 2008), pp. 183–202; C. Almagro Vidal, 'La Orden de Calatrava y la minoría mudéjar', in *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros (VI encontro sobre ordens militares)*, ed. C. Ferreira Fernandes, 2 vols (Palmela, 2012), II, pp. 617–30.
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 - 86 E. Rodríguez Picavea Matilla, *Monjes guerreros en los reinos hispánicos: las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media* (Madrid, 2008), p. 377.
 - 87 B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 146–52; Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Conversion'.
 - 88 B. Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaya: An Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 207–15; B. Z. Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish Worshipers: The Case of Saydnaya', in *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Y. Hen (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 59–69; A. G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 157–63.
 - 89 Burgtorf, 'Die Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung?', p. 197.
 - 90 Jossierand, *Eglise et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique*, p. 262, who however underlines that this was in no way a general practice on the Iberian Peninsula. Similarly Ruibal Rodríguez, 'Funciones de las fortalezas', p. 714.

- 91 J. Kreem, 'Der Deutsche Orden in Livland: Die Heiden, Landvolk und Undeutsche in der livländischen Heeresverfassung', in *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico: incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture*, ed. H. Houben (Galatina, 2008), pp. 237–51, especially pp. 239–41; N. Jaspert, 'Zur Loyalität interkultureller Makler im Mittelmeerraum: Christliche Söldnerführer (alcajts) im Dienste muslimischer Sultane', in *Loyalty in the Middle Ages. Ideal and Practices of a Cross-Social Value*, ed. J. Sonntag and C. Zermatten (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 235–74, esp. pp. 261–2.
- 92 A. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 216.
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- 97 J. M. Ortuño Sánchez-Pedreño, *El adelantado de la Corona de Castilla* (Murcia, 1997), p. 39. See also Ayala Martínez, *Las Órdenes Militares hispánicas en la Edad Media*, pp. 155–6.
- 98 González Jiménez, 'Actas capitulares de Morón de la Frontera', LXVII.
- 99 In fact we know that in one instance, judges of the border had two *escuderos* of the master of Calatrava arrested because they had broken an armistice and kidnapped Muslims in Jaén – González Jiménez, 'La frontera entre Andalucía y Granada', p. 101.
- 100 MacKay, 'Los romances fronterizos como fuente histórica'; MacKay, 'The Ballad and the Frontier in Late Medieval Spain'; A. MacKay, 'Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 217–43; P. Correa Rodríguez, *Los romances fronterizos*, 2 vols (Granada, 1999).
- 101 Correa Rodríguez, *Los romances fronterizos*, II, pp. 381–403, 517, 597–635, based on the life of Rodrigo Téllez de Girón (with references to the tales of Abenzaidos and Albayaldos). Tellingly the 'Romance de la Muerte del Maestre de Santiago' – the Romance of the death of the Master Santiago – deals with Christian strife, not with interreligious conflict or conflict containment.
- 102 A. Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Ransoming of Captives from Islam', *Studia monastica*, 33 (1991), 259–79, especially 268–9; J. M. Calderón Ortega and F. J. Díaz Gonzalez, *Vae Victis: cautivos y prisioneros en la Edad Media hispánica* (Alcalá de Henares, 2012), pp. 230–1.
- 103 J. Delaville Le Roulx, 'L'Ordre de Montjoie', *ROL*, 1 (1893), 42–57; A. Forey, 'The Order of Mountjoy', *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 250–266; Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Ransoming', 269–70; N. Jaspert, 'Transmediterrane Wechselwirkungen im 12. Jahrhundert. Der Ritterorden von Montjoie und der Templerorden', in *Die Ritterorden als Träger der Herrschaft: Territorien, Grundbesitz und Kirche*, ed. R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky (Toruń, 2007), pp. 257–78.
- 104 Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Ransoming', pp. 273–4; Y. Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cultures (Leiden, 2002), pp. 200–11; P. Goridis, *Gefangen im Heiligen Land. Verarbeitung und Bewältigung christlicher Gefangenschaft zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Ostfildern, 2015), who is more cautious concerning the Hospitallers' ransoming activities.
- 105 Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen*; Dubonis, 'Das Grenzgebiet zwischen Litauen und dem Deutschen Orden', pp. 59–61 notes short-term truces with the Lithuanians in Samogitia; on intensive diplomatic contacts with Lithuania: R. Petrauskas, 'Der Frieden im Zeitalter des Krieges. Formen friedlicher

- Kommunikation zwischen dem deutschen Orden und dem Großfürstentum Litauen zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Annaberger Annalen*, 12 (2004), 28–42.
- 106 CH, I, doc. 144 (= *RRH*, doc. 212); Burgtorf, 'Die Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung?', pp. 182–5; Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, p. 351.
- 107 Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 32–41. See further treaties with the Hospitallers 1271 and the Templars 1282 (*ibid.*, pp. 48–57 and 66–8). C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), pp. 317–19; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 463–6.
- 108 Rodríguez Molina, *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*, pp. 288–292.
- 109 On the concept see: *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa: Vorträge und Workshops einer internationalen Frühlingsschule = Hybrid cultures in medieval Europe*, ed. M. Borgolte and B. Schneidmüller (Berlin, 2010).
- 110 González Jiménez, 'Actas capitulares de Morón de la Frontera', LXXV.
- 111 Rodríguez Molina, *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*, p. 243. In general see González Jiménez, 'La frontera entre Andalucía y Granada', pp. 108–10; González Jiménez, 'Actas capitulares de Morón de la Frontera', LXXIV on the tax for goods brought from and to Granada, the *diezmo de lo morisco*.
- 112 Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 104–5; Ibn-Dschubair, *Tagebuch eines Mekkapilgers*, trans. R. Günther (Lenningen 2004), p. 221.
- 113 K. Elm, 'Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters. Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme', in "Militia Christi" e crociata nei secoli XI–XIII. *Atti della undecima Settimana Internazionale di studio*, Mendola, 28 agosto - 1 settembre 1989 (Milan, 1992), pp. 477–518, especially pp. 512–18; A. Forey, 'Literacy and Learning in the Military Orders During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *MO* 2, pp. 185–206; A. Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia: Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden* (Wiesbaden, 2003); A. Forey, 'Literacy among the Aragonese Templars in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik*, ed. R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky (Toruń, 2009), pp. 203–12; A. Forey, 'Culture écrite', in *Prier et combattre: dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. N. Bériou and P. Josserand (Paris, 2009), pp. 284–7; *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik*, ed. R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky (Toruń, 2009).
- 114 B. A. Catlos, 'Contexto y conveniencia en la corona de Aragón: propuesta de un modelo de interacción entre grupos etno-religiosos minoritarios y mayoritarios', *Revista d'història medieval*, 12 (2001/2002), 259–69; On the concept of cultural brokerage see: *Cultural Brokers at Mediterranean Courts in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. v. d. Höh, N. Jaspert and J. R. Oesterle (Paderborn, 2013).

2 Frontier conflict, military cost and culture

The master of Santiago and the Islamic border in mid-fourteenth-century Spain

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As far back as the Middle Ages, many iconographical and literary images clearly linked the military orders with the frontier – that frontier which it was usual to talk about in the singular, namely the border then dividing the Latin world from the territories of infidels. The brethren at the frontier were regarded as labouring untiringly for the defence and expansion of the Christian faith. The classical historiography of the military orders toyed with this idea in many ways, and the view of the brethren's superiority that became accepted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is still repeated without question in most popularizing works. Of course, this reading of the medieval history of the military orders is not entirely wrong, but the relationship that the brethren maintained with the frontier proves to be much more complex. In his contribution to this volume Nikolas Jaspert points this out very clearly. Since the last third of the twentieth century, scholarship on the involvement of the brethren on the frontier has benefited from the same historiographical renewal that has allowed the study of the military orders to emerge as a field of research in its own right within present-day medieval historical studies, although this development is not without its dangers.¹ However, progress has not been as great as one might expect, and old clichés still persist. In spite of great advances, most of them in English scholarship, the military history of the brethren is not the area of medieval research which has progressed most.² In a short but stimulating book Damien Carraz has noted that 'la relation de l'ordre du Temple au fait guerrier n'a, me semble-t-il, pas encore été vraiment appréhendée dans sa globalité et sa spécificité'.³ For the other military orders the situation is even worse and, as the same French historian has pointed out, we are in need of 'une histoire totale du domaine de la guerre' for all orders, which encompasses a complete social and cultural approach.⁴

In this chapter, my intention is not to present a comprehensive study of war and the military orders, nor do I intend to consider the significance the medieval

frontier had for the brethren in general.⁵ As I am a French historian, some might fear that I am especially inclined towards generalities or theories. This is not so, and I want to write here, as I have always done, as a practical historian. I am all the more inclined to do this since the conference which occasioned this volume was held in London. I remember that when I started to study the military orders, about two decades ago, I was especially interested in works written in English, in particular those of British scholars, who have always stimulated my thinking. In a recent collaborative book, *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century*, Malcolm Barber and María Bonet Donato, who were responsible for analyzing Alan Forey's contribution, have pointed out the debt I owe to the author of *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*.⁶ For me and for many others, Alan Forey has been a forerunner. In 2001, during the Teruel Conference, the proceedings of which unfortunately were never published,⁷ he confessed that he did not have 'much faith in any theory of history which seeks to give undue shape to the past'.⁸ Indifferent to fashions and trends in historiography, Alan Forey has won renown and still continues to do so by adopting an empirical method, always mindful of the documentation and of events. On the other side of the English Channel, namely on my own, one might consider this position as a return to positivism. But this is not the case. As Malcolm Barber and María Bonet Donato have pointed out, the various books and articles by Alan Forey form 'a comprehensive work [. . .] always supported by documented facts'.⁹ Here, modestly, inspired by this method, I will try to make the most of an exceptional documentary corpus concerning mid-fourteenth century Castile, which sheds light on the relationship that frontier conflict, military cost and culture had for the brethren of Santiago and their peers.

Let me start with a quote from a charter contained in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid: '*Ca bien sabia el por cierto que non auia en aquellas comarcas omne que mejor lo pudiese mantener e defender*'. The Castilian King Alfonso XI is said to have addressed these words to the bishop of Cordoba in 1330 when requesting him to entrust the master of Santiago, Vasco Rodríguez, with the fortress of Lucena, which was then in danger of being conquered by a Muslim army.¹⁰ It is quite possible that the king's praise was exaggerated because the dignitary was the person who recounted it two years later when battling with the Church of Cordoba over payment of expenses incurred by the Order of Santiago in the defence of the place. Even so, such a compliment has to be highlighted because it contradicts the lack of engagement on the Spanish Islamic frontier after the end of the thirteenth century usually attributed to the military orders by recent scholarship.¹¹ On the Iberian Peninsula research on these institutions, in spite of its recent revival, has so far failed seriously to consider the costs incurred by the brethren in carrying out their military obligations.¹² Therefore, the limited military involvement of Santiago and its peers are interpreted as a refusal to fight, allegedly demonstrated by some isolated chronicle statements dealing with the treason of a commander or the flight of a master.¹³

In the dissertation I completed in January 2000 and published four years later, I strongly denied such an exclusive causality. It may at times have been a factor, but it cannot wholly explain the difficulties and even the setbacks that the Spanish

military orders faced in their fight against Islam: the limits of the brethren's armed involvement are to be explained by financial problems rather than by a supposed refusal to fight.¹⁴ It is essential to put the military difficulties of the orders, particularly from the beginning of the fourteenth century, in their proper context. The danger to which the southern frontier of the Castilian kingdom was exposed has been largely underestimated by most recent scholars. It was only at the end of the 1980s that the Muslim pressure resulting from Marinid campaigns at the end of Alfonso X's reign was stressed.¹⁵ Even so, historians still continue to minimize the significance of the military struggle on the borders of Granada.¹⁶ As a result they underestimate the difficulty faced by the brethren in trying to defend the Castilian frontier and the expenses they incurred, which swallowed up a large part of their income, even if they were not fighting alone.¹⁷

The sources available for estimating these expenses are not very helpful to scholars. In order better to understand the extent of the amounts involved, more monographic studies are needed. The relevant documents are very few and imprecise.¹⁸ That is why the documentation of the Cordoban fortress of Lucena, which the Order of Santiago held from 1330 to 1333, has such special value for us. In 2000, when I first took a keen interest in this place,¹⁹ I was astonished to find that the study by Manuel Nieto Cumplido, then as today the canon-archivist of the cathedral of Cordoba, had attracted such little academic attention.²⁰ I have to report that my own work about Lucena has not fared much better: although it is cited in recent comprehensive studies of the military orders,²¹ it seems to have been entirely ignored at local and regional level.²² Nevertheless, it may be interesting to return to the documentary corpus on Lucena I had managed to gather together in the Archivo Catedral de Córdoba, the Biblioteca de la Catedral de Córdoba, the Archivo Histórico Nacional and the Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu.²³ Thanks to these texts, some of which are now published, it is possible to follow over a period of about fifteen years the misfortunes of Lucena, which after the retreat of the frontier in 1326 had been left at the front line against Nasrid and Marinid attacks.²⁴ Lucena's dangerous exposure was one of the reasons why the bishop of Cordoba gave the fortress to the Order of Santiago. It is to this situation that I would like to dedicate the major part of this chapter before dealing, from a broader perspective, with the commitment of the Order of Santiago to defending the Christian frontier with Islam in Spain, the heavy costs this defence entailed, and the culture it produced.

In 1330, when Lucena was given to the Order of Santiago by the bishop of Cordoba, King Alfonso XI was seeking to have the brethren entrusted with the defence against Muslim attack of a stronghold vital for the security of the rich lands of the Guadalquivir valley. Situated south of the Campiña of Cordoba and close to the foothills of the Betic cordillera, the fortress of Lucena had great regional importance.²⁵ According to one fourteenth-century account, under Muslim rule Lucena had transformed into 'a powerful city whose walls were then among the highest'.²⁶

It had a sizeable Jewish and thriving intellectual community,²⁷ which included Ibn Rûshd during his time of exile from Cordoba.²⁸ No traces remain today of the city's walls or original fortress,²⁹ although the possibility exists that an archaeological excavation might reveal the layout of the ramparts: these may have formed a circle with a radius of about 100m around the primitive castle, which was extensively altered during modern times.³⁰ It would be difficult to challenge the strategic importance of Lucena. It played an eminent role during the Islamic period³¹ and grew even more important after the Christian conquest, because the fortress given to the Church of Cordoba in July 1241 or shortly before,³² together with Cabra, Priego, Luque and Baena, was part of a line of defence that protected the southern part of the Castilian kingdom against attacks from the Nasrid sultanate.³³

This frontier system had encountered difficulties, first in 1264, during the Mudéjar revolt,³⁴ and then fifteen years later, during the end of Alfonso X's reign, because of Marinid incursions.³⁵ It was greatly weakened during Alfonso XI's second regency between 1319 and 1325. In that period the city of Cordoba, which had been excluded from the truce of Baena in 1320,³⁶ was subjected to growing military pressure.³⁷ Rute, Zambra and Priego in turn fell under Nasrid control, and after 1326 the way was open for a large-scale attack which could threaten Cordoba at any moment.³⁸ The collapse of the frontier suddenly placed Lucena at the front line.³⁹ The bishop of Cordoba, whose *mensa* included Lucena since 1249,⁴⁰ failed to assess the danger properly.⁴¹ According to a letter sent by Alfonso XI in May 1328 to the urban authorities of Cordoba, in which he urged them to persuade the bishop to carry out his military obligations, the fortress was by then already in a somewhat ruinous state.⁴² In order to facilitate the bishop's strengthening of Lucena, the king granted him the *terzuelos*, that is to say the two-ninths of the tithe granted to the crown by a papal privilege dating from the second quarter of the thirteenth century.⁴³ However, this concession was not enough to overcome the bishop's financial difficulties, and two years later he was forced to hand over Lucena to the Order of Santiago in order to prevent the stronghold from being lost.⁴⁴

This is not the only time that a Castilian prelate sought to divest himself of his military obligations to the crown. At the very beginning of the 1330s, the archbishop of Toledo had progressively relinquished the defence of the territory of Cazorla to the urban authorities of Úbeda.⁴⁵ And half a century earlier the bishop and cathedral chapter of Cordoba had tried to rid themselves of the fortress of Tiñosa, which controlled the road between Priego and Rute⁴⁶ and for which the costs of maintenance – about 4,000 maravédís a year – had become too much to bear.⁴⁷ After a first and unsuccessful attempt, in 1278,⁴⁸ Alfonso X in June 1280 allowed them to demolish the castle, because Moorish incursions from Rute had rendered its defence increasingly difficult while heightening the probability that it would be lost to the enemy.⁴⁹ However, in the following weeks the king seems to have changed his mind, for five months later, in November 1280, he entrusted the defence of Tiñosa to the master of Calatrava, Juan González, whom he made responsible for repelling Muslim attacks which threatened the Castilian frontier system in the south of the kingdom of Cordoba, whatever the difficulties.⁵⁰

In September 1330, in what seems to have been a similar context, the stronghold of Lucena, too, was handed over to a military order by the bishop of Cordoba, who no longer felt able to guarantee its upkeep. Following King Alfonso XI's advice, he this time chose the Order of Santiago as the recipient. The master of the order, Vasco Rodríguez, was contacted while the Castilian army was preparing to besiege Teba.⁵¹ The choice of the master of Santiago as new guardian of Lucena is not surprising, for he had been described by the king himself as the man best qualified to perform this task. It should be noted that Alfonso XI's comment is known only from a later statement made by the master himself. However, there is no reason to challenge its validity, for there is plenty of evidence elsewhere of Vasco Rodríguez's ability and experience on the Moorish border.⁵² Already in 1328, only one year after his election to the mastership,⁵³ Vasco Rodríguez had received the *adelantamiento de la frontera*⁵⁴ and, even if this was not chiefly a military office,⁵⁵ he had already played an important part in the various campaigns led by Alfonso XI against the Muslims. At Ayamonte, for example, it was he who had been leading the brethren of Santiago into battle.⁵⁶ Serving on the frontier was an essential part of the master's activity, and Vasco Rodríguez was the first to summon the annual chapter of Santiago outside the estates of the order, when he chose to remain in Úbeda,⁵⁷ near the Moorish border, during the summer of 1329.⁵⁸

For three years, from 1330 to 1333, Lucena was in the possession of the Order of Santiago, and for that time the brethren were responsible for defending it. Only few historians have paid attention to this short period of occupation, most of them either omitting chronological details⁵⁹ or getting them wrong, as Iluminado Sanz Sancho did, even though he specializes in the history of Cordoba.⁶⁰ Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada and Manuel Nieto Cumplido – the latter in more detail – were the first to assign the correct dates to Santiago's tenure of Lucena⁶¹ by making use of two documents issued on 19 August 1332 and on 24 June 1333 respectively that I published after.⁶² In the summer of 1332 the Santiaguist brother Juan López de Baeza was given the task of securing from the bishop of Cordoba payment of the expenses incurred by the Order in defending Lucena since 1330.⁶³ One year later the master of Santiago, Vasco Rodríguez, released Juan López de Baeza from the obligation of constructing a tower at Guadalcázar: this was an unusual concession in that it was granted at a time when the brother was confronting death while fighting against the Moors in Gibraltar, and because it was made in recognition of his previous efforts at Lucena and Benamejí while these fortresses were under the control of the Order of Santiago.⁶⁴

During a short period of three years the Order had shown itself to be heavily committed to the defence of Lucena. This is apparent from the immediate appointment of a commander, Fernán Soga, who was responsible for the daily upkeep of the place.⁶⁵ Everything leads one to believe that this officer carried out the task to the best of his ability, and in the summer of 1332 a dispute between the proctor of Santiago and the bishop of Cordoba reveals that the defence of Lucena already had placed a heavy burden on the finances of the Order, which requested an indemnity of about 80,000 maravédís.⁶⁶ Some of this money had been spent on repairing the ramparts, without which the fortress would not have been able to withstand the

Nasrid attack of 1333, during which Cabra was lost.⁶⁷ In my opinion, no credence should be given to a late document from the municipal archives of Luque according to which Lucena came under Islamic control at that time, before being reconquered by Alfonso XI after the battle at the Salado river in 1340.⁶⁸ However, it would be equally wrong to underestimate the Muslim threat, which weighed so heavily on Lucena that the master of Santiago decided to continue with the work of fortification in spite of the bishop's objections, even while he was entering into negotiations with him over its restoration.⁶⁹

Summer of 1332 saw the beginning of prolonged discussions between the master of Santiago and the bishop of Cordoba about Lucena. The first stumbling block in the negotiations was the indemnity the Order expected to receive from the bishop, but by the beginning of 1333 the return of the stronghold to the lordship of the Church of Cordoba had become the real issue.⁷⁰ It is possible that the surrender of the fortress into ecclesiastical control was closely linked to a temporary lull in the fighting after the truce agreed between the Nasrid sultan and King Alfonso XI in 1331.⁷¹ This break from hostilities did not put an end to the threat, but it certainly diminished it.⁷² Moreover, as a result of it frontier fortresses like Lucena were no longer regarded as merely a waste of financial resources.⁷³ This, at least, seems to have been the new view of the bishop of Cordoba, who was now trying to recover Lucena in spite of the brothers of Santiago's insistence to retain it if he did not pay what he owed them.⁷⁴ It seems that the bishop settled his debt with the order in a single instalment.⁷⁵ His rationale for doing so may have been that he expected the lands surrounding Lucena, which – according to the *Libro de la Montería* –⁷⁶ consisted mainly of hunting grounds, to be more productive if placed under cultivation and himself to be able to profit from that.⁷⁷

The situation of Lucena did not seem to have improved, however. A Marinid offensive against Gibraltar in February 1333 revived military tension on the frontier,⁷⁸ which increased even further during the summer as a result of a Castilian counter-attack led by King Alfonso XI.⁷⁹ Therefore, shortly after recovering Lucena, the bishop of Cordoba had to abandon it again, as he was unable to resist the Moors and to save it from meeting the same disastrous fate as Benamejí.⁸⁰ This time he did not entrust the fortress to the master of either Santiago or Calatrava, who were both too involved in the task of strengthening their own castles.⁸¹ Instead he entrusted it first to a certain Juan Pérez, who, however, soon abandoned it, and then to Egas Benegas, who was a vassal of the king of Castile.⁸² The bishop promised to supply these men materially and financially every four months throughout the war.⁸³ But the promise proved difficult to keep for the financial and material costs exceeded the bishop's capabilities while at the same time it stirred up the defenders' avarice, whose repeated claims for support put the cathedral chapter in continuous financial difficulties.⁸⁴

Already in 1332, when Lucena had been under the control of Santiago, the cathedral canons had threatened to bring account of the bishop's actions, which they considered to be harming their own seigniorial rights, before the metropolitan of Toledo or the papal curia.⁸⁵ The chapter's discontent undoubtedly increased further after the bishop had given away Lucena, for the canons were expected to

meet part of the cost of defence the burden of which normally fell on the episcopal *mensa*. In May 1334 King Alfonso XI gave order that 15,000 maravédís be repaid to the chapter from the income appropriated by the bishop.⁸⁶ However, it is doubtful that the measure had much effect. Two years later, when electing a new bishop, the canons decided that the new candidate should refund them an even greater sum than that which his predecessor had borrowed from them for the defence of Lucena.⁸⁷ For the chapter of Cordoba the fortress was a source of disproportionate expense. In July 1342 the dean of the cathedral explicitly acknowledged this fact when he allowed the bishop to exchange Lucena⁸⁸ – a measure that would have been possible ten years earlier when the place had been entrusted to Santiago.⁸⁹ The cost of maintaining Lucena thus finally outweighed any reluctance to give up the fortress. The stronghold was transferred to Leonor de Guzmán, the king's favourite,⁹⁰ and on 11 August 1342 the Church of Cordoba's lordship over Lucena came to an end. Like Cabra and Priego, the fortress was henceforth subjected to royal control. In Alfonso XI's mind this policy to put frontier castles under royal control was key for conducting an effective frontier defence, because the costs involved in maintaining these places was beyond the resource capacities of their traditional guardians,⁹¹ including the military orders.⁹²

It is clear from the example of Lucena that the cost of frontier castles was a problem of considerable magnitude and often put the Iberian military orders in great difficulty, just as it did the other institutions involved in the fight against Islam. One could, of course, argue that frontier fortresses were centres for the generation and acquisition of income just as much as castles in the interior regions of the Castilian kingdom were.⁹³ In the case of the region at the foothills of the Betic cordillera this argument would not hold true, however.⁹⁴ The demographic weaknesses of these border districts and their constant exposure to attack made them, as Manuel García Fernández put it, 'auténticos presidios militares',⁹⁵ whose ability to defend themselves, dependent as these castles were on external supplies, was derisory.⁹⁶ Faced with considerable expenses for defending their frontier castles, the military orders had no choice but to arrange for a grand-scale transfer of resources from their other estates to the southern regions.⁹⁷ It is surprising that scholars have not paid more attention to this important matter.⁹⁸ The sources are, of course, partly to blame for this. Accounts for the period before the mid-fifteenth century are non-existent⁹⁹ and it is therefore as impossible to assess the scale of these transfers as it is difficult to verify their existence.¹⁰⁰ But whatever their origin, whether from far or near, these transfers represented a contribution without which the frontier system that the military orders had created in the south of the Castilian kingdom could not possibly have been maintained.¹⁰¹

From the late thirteenth century onwards, as a consequence of growing pressure resulting from Marinid campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula,¹⁰² the military orders encountered serious difficulties in defending their frontier strongholds. Many fortresses were exposed to repeated attacks, the danger of which has usually been

underestimated by scholars. Very little is usually known about the history of these castles, as can be seen from the case of Benamejí, close to Lucena. Benamejí is supposed to have fallen under Islamic control only once,¹⁰³ but in reality it had passed into Muslim hands on at least three occasions.¹⁰⁴ In the autumn of 1277, during the second expedition of the Marinid sultan Abû Yûsuf,¹⁰⁵ the castle that Alfonso X had granted to Santiago at the outset of his reign¹⁰⁶ was lost for the first time.¹⁰⁷ It was again incorporated into the Castilian kingdom in 1286, as a result of to the truce signed by King Sancho IV.¹⁰⁸ After successfully resisting a massive attack during the final years of the Nasrid sultan Muhammad II at the end of the thirteenth century,¹⁰⁹ the castle was again lost in 1333, following the Muslim conquest of Gibraltar.¹¹⁰ In 1341, one year after the battle at the Salado river, the master of the Order of Santiago, Alonso Méndez de Guzmán, managed to recover Benamejí,¹¹¹ but two years later the castle was lost again.¹¹² This time the Moors completely destroyed the place, which came back definitively under Castilian rule only in 1362.¹¹³ Extreme as it may seem, the example of Benamejí illustrates very well the pressures and failures which the military orders encountered in the defence of their frontier castles. There is no denying these difficulties: on the contrary, it is necessary to emphasize them, but they are to be explained not so much by the weakness of the military orders as by the situation on the frontier, which remained very unstable until at least the central decades of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁴

It was the cost of frontier defence which imposed serious limits on their strategic effectiveness of the Iberian military orders. Nevertheless, these difficulties did not significantly change the esteem for the orders in Castilian society. For most of Alfonso XI's subjects the knights of Santiago and their peers remained leading protagonists in the fight against Islam. In this respect it is not irrelevant that the praise given to Vasco Rodríguez in 1330, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, was delivered before several representatives of the Andalusian nobility whose involvement in frontier conflicts is well documented.¹¹⁵ Among those present to hear the military ability of the master of Santiago being praised were Alfonso de Tamayo, described as *adelantado*; the heads of the families of Ponce de León and Aguilar, two of the most notable lineages in Andalusia; and numerous other members of the urban aristocracy of Cordoba.¹¹⁶ All of them were known to have fought in the frontier wars against the Moors and were therefore well qualified to judge the military capabilities of the brethren and their special importance in the defence of the kingdom of Castile. Exaggerated though it may seem, the praise of the Master Vasco Rodríguez is unlikely to have surprised or shocked them, for it was shared by many who were involved on the frontier, whether they were Christians or Muslims.¹¹⁷ The fact that at the beginning of the 1330s the protection of Lucena provided by the Order of Santiago was considered preferable to that which a representative of the nobility would have been able to offer was, basically, because of circumstances. It would seem that most of the Andalusian nobles felt that the Order's presence offered at least as good a guarantee for their safety as they could have provided themselves.

During the second quarter of the fourteenth century the brothers of Santiago were still regarded as outstanding frontiersmen. There was no time for them to

establish themselves at Lucena to the same extent and degree as they had done in other places or as some of their peers, for example the Hospitallers or the Teutonic Knights, had done throughout the Iberian Peninsula or at the other frontiers of Latin Christendom. In Spain, as elsewhere, recent scholarship has come to view the brethren of Santiago as *hacedores de frontera*, that is to say as frontier-makers.¹¹⁸ The meaning of that expression goes far beyond the realm of warfare. Because of their mission, for the military orders the frontier was, of course, primarily an area of conflict. But fighting was never as all-absorbing or continuous as the historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have claimed, who were generally 'more enthusiastic than critical' about the matter.¹¹⁹ However, although their point of view can no longer be defended, it would be a mistake if we would merely content ourselves with reversing it totally or adapting it to modern, and obviously very different, sensibilities. One has to consider the relationship between brethren and the frontier in all its complexity. The Templars, the brethren of Santiago and their peers were actively involved in the political and social integration of regions which were absorbed into the Latin world during the Middle Ages. Except in the case of the *Ordensstaaten* in Prussia and Rhodes, they did so in the service of princely lay powers, who were generally very pleased to have this support not only in wartime but also in more peaceful periods, when a more pragmatic approach to the 'other' prevailed.

In the Middle Ages the frontier was the *raison d'être* for brethren of the military orders. This is true both in the border territories of the Latin world as in regions in the rest of western Christendom which were less directly affected by holy war or crusade. The Templars had a strong link with the Holy Land: until its abolition, their institution transferred considerable resources to the East, and brethren, whatever their status, promised to work for the reconquest of Jerusalem and accepted that they might be sent by their superiors from one end of the Mediterranean to the other.¹²⁰ In other military orders the situation was not much different, although the distance between frontier and hinterland was sometimes less pronounced. Not only in the Holy Land or at the Andalusian border or in the Baltic regions, but throughout the Christian West, the military orders focussed on the needs of the frontier, where conflict was very costly. It is necessary to bear this in mind. And scholarship should strive to understand this focus of the military orders on the frontier in all its complexities. Important progress has been made since the end of the twentieth century, but one important aspect is still being ignored: culture. In the military orders a frontier culture existed. Much needs to be done in order to understand it better, but it would be a mistake to question its importance. It is not a matter of chance that the first geodesic treatise written in German, the *Geometria Culmensis*, was produced in c1400 in the Teutonic Order under the aegis of the Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen.¹²¹ At that time the institution attached extreme importance to the borders of the *Ordensstaat*, which the master refused to cross except in particular instances, because he regarded such an act as demeaning. The situation of the Teutonic Order was, of course, highly unusual. And possibly only the situation of Rhodes under the Hospitallers can offer a comparison. However, the Iberian military orders seem to have behaved in a very similar way, although to a

lesser degree. In their case, too, the frontier affected their outlook and, ultimately, their culture.

Notes

- 1 C. de Ayala Martínez and C. Barquero Goñi, 'Historiografía hispánica y órdenes militares en la Edad Media (1993–2002)', *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, 12 (2002), 102.
- 2 A. Demurger, 'Histoire de l'historiographie des ordres religieux-militaires de 1500 à nos jours', in *P&C*, pp. 40–2.
- 3 D. Carraz, *Les Templiers et la guerre* (Clermont-Ferrand, 2012), p. 3.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 5 P. Josserand, 'Frontière et ordres militaires dans le monde latin au Moyen Âge', in *Frontières oubliées, frontières retrouvées. Marches et limites anciennes en France et en Europe*, ed. M. Catala, D. Le Page and J.-C. Meuret (Rennes, 2011), pp. 189–97; P. Josserand, 'Grenze(n) und geistliche Ritterorden in der lateinischen Welt des Mittelalters', in *Ordines Militares Colloquia Historica Torunensia. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders*, 17 (2012), 7–16.
- 6 M. Barber and M. Bonet, 'Alan Forey's Contribution', in *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2: *National Traditions*, ed. J. Aurell and J. Pavón (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 29–30, no. 21.
- 7 *Third International Conference: Half a Century of Studies on Crusades and Military Orders (1951–2001). A Tribute to Sir Steven Runciman (1903–2000)*, organized by L. García-Guijarro Ramos and held at Teruel in July 2001. The proceedings remain unpublished, as do those of the *Second International Conference*, held in the same place two years earlier.
- 8 Barber and Bonet, 'Alan Forey's Contribution', p. 28, no. 18.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 10 Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Órdenes Militares, carp. 92, doc. 5.
- 11 A. Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Spanish Reconquest in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Traditio*, 40 (1984), 220 and 222–3, reprinted in A. Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades* (Aldershot, 1994); V. M. García Fernández, 'Tensiones nobiliarias y gobierno municipal en Córdoba durante la minoría de Alfonso XI (1312–1325)', *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 25 (1998), 244; C. de Ayala Martínez, 'Las órdenes militares y la acción de frontera (siglos XIII–XIV)', in *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI–XIV)*, ed. C. de Ayala Martínez, P. Buresi and P. Josserand (Madrid, 2001), pp. 139–40 and 150–1; and F. García Fitz, '"Las guerras de cada día" en la Castilla del siglo XIV', *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 8 (2007), 161.
- 12 The works dealing with the military aspects of the orders are very few as shown by P. Josserand, 'Les ordres militaires dans les royaumes de León et de Castille. Bilan et perspectives de la recherche en histoire médiévale', *Atalaya. Revue Française d'Études Médiévales Hispaniques*, 9 (1998), 24–5; C. de Ayala Martínez, 'Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la Edad Media. Aproximación bibliográfica', in *Lux Hispaniarum. Estudios sobre las órdenes militares*, ed. J. Campos (Madrid, 1999), p. 437. Even less numerous are the studies pointing out the cost of the brethren's frontier involvement: D. Rodríguez Blanco, 'Las órdenes militares en la frontera', in *La Banda morisca durante los siglos XIII, XIV y XV (Actas de las II Jornadas de Temas Moronenses, 17 al 20 de octubre de 1994)*, ed. M. García Fernández (Morón de la Frontera, 1994), p. 155; L. R. Villegas Díaz, 'Presencia de la orden de Calatrava en Osuna. Una aproximación', in *Osuna entre los tiempos medievales y modernos (siglos XIII–XVIII)*, ed. J. J. Iglesias Rodríguez and M. García Fernández (Seville, 1995), p. 49, were forerunners in so doing at the end of the twentieth century.

- 13 P. Jossierand, 'En charge de la frontière: les ordres militaires et le financement des châteaux de la Cordillère Bétique aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles', in *Actas del II Congreso de castellología ibérica (Alcalá de la Selva, 8–11 de noviembre de 2001)*, ed. A. Ruibal (Teruel, 2005), pp. 273–91 (especially pp. 275–6).
- 14 P. Jossierand, *Église et pouvoir dans la péninsule Ibérique. Les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252–1369)* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 275–96.
- 15 M. García Fernández, 'La frontera de Granada a mediados del siglo XIV', *Revista de Estudios Andaluces*, 9 (1987), 78; M. Á. Ladero Quesada, 'Sobre la génesis medieval de la identidad andaluza', in *Andalucía entre Occidente y Oriente (1236–1492)*, ed. E. Cabrera Muñoz (Córdoba, 1988), p. 749.
- 16 J. Rodríguez Molina, 'Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los reinos de Córdoba y Jaén', *Revista del Centro de estudios históricos de Granada y su reino. Segunda época*, 6 (1992), 87–8; J. Rodríguez Molina, 'La frontera de Granada, siglos XIII–XIV', in *Estudios de frontera. Alcalá la Real y el arcipreste de Hita*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. Rodríguez Molina (Alcalá la Real, 1996), pp. 508–9; J. Rodríguez Molina, *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera* (Alcalá la Real, 2007).
- 17 That this was true on a global level has been pointed out by J. Riley-Smith, 'Towards a History of Military-Religious Orders', in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe. Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert and H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 2007), p. 273.
- 18 C. de Ayala Martínez, *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la Edad Media (siglos XII–XV)* (Madrid, 2003), pp. 578–80; E. Rodríguez-Picavea, *Los monjes guerreros en los reinos hispánicos. Las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 161–3.
- 19 P. Jossierand, 'Lucena: une forteresse à l'encan. Éléments de réflexion sur le coût de la défense frontalière des ordres militaires dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle', in *Mil anos de fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (500–1500). Actas do Simpósio internacional sobre castelos (Palmela, 2000)*, ed. I.C.F. Fernandes (Lisbon, 2002), pp. 603–21, especially p. 604.
- 20 M. Nieto Cumplido, 'Aportación a la historia de Lucena, 1240–1366', in *Lucena. Apuntes para su historia. I Jornadas de historia de Lucena*, ed. J. Calvo Poyato (Lucena, 1981), pp. 237–71.
- 21 Ayala Martínez, *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la Edad Media*, p. 579; Rodríguez-Picavea, *Los monjes guerreros en los reinos hispánicos*, p. 162.
- 22 For example, there is no mention in I. Sanz Sancho, *La iglesia de Córdoba (1236–1454). Una diócesis de la provincia eclesiástica de Toledo en la Baja Edad Media* (Madrid, 2006), or in L. F. Palma Robles, *Jornadas de historia de Lucena (Lucena, 23–26 noviembre 2006)* (Lucena, 2008). The recent conference *Lucena en la historia. Historia y literatura (Lucena, 15–16 abril 2013)*, organized by J. Calvo Poyato, does not seem to have changed the situation, in spite of the fact that the papers delivered by J. L. Corral and M. Torres Sevilla were both dedicated to the Middle Ages.
- 23 Jossierand, 'Lucena: une forteresse à l'encan', pp. 613–21.
- 24 M. Nieto Cumplido, 'Las cartas de fuero y repoblación de Cabra y Lucena (1342–1344)', in *Encuentros de historia local. La Subbética*, ed. J. Aranda Doncel (Baena, 1990), pp. 92–3; I. Sanz Sancho, *Geografía del obispado de Córdoba en la Baja Edad Media* (Madrid, 1995), p. 164.
- 25 J. Arjona Castro, 'La comarca de la Subbética cordobesa durante las invasiones de los Almorávides y los Almohades', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba*, 117 (1989), 115–46, especially pp. 127–9.
- 26 According to *al-Hulal al-mawsiyya fi dīkr al-ahbār al-marrākusiyya*, a Nasrid chronicle of the late fourteenth century, often attributed to Ibn Simāk, as shown by Arjona Castro, 'La comarca de la Subbética cordobesa', p. 120.
- 27 D. Urvoy, *El mundo de los ulemas andaluces del siglo VI/X al siglo VIII/XII* (Madrid, 1983).

- 28 Nieto Cumplido, 'Aportación a la historia de Lucena', p. 242.
- 29 R. Ramírez de Arellano, *Inventario monumental y artístico de la provincia de Córdoba* (Córdoba, 1904, repr. Córdoba, 1983), pp. 466–7.
- 30 D. Ortiz Juárez, J. Bernier Luque, J. Rivas Carmona, M. Nieto Cumplido, F. Lara Arrebola and F. López Salamanca, *Catálogo artístico y monumental de la provincia de Córdoba*, vol. V: *Iznajar-Lucena* (Córdoba, 1987), pp. 285–6.
- 31 According to Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, an author of the late twelfth century, whose account is discussed by Arjona Castro, 'La comarca de la Subbética cordobesa', p. 119.
- 32 Nieto Cumplido, 'Aportación a la historia de Lucena', pp. 241–3; Sanz Sancho, *La iglesia de Córdoba*, p. 123.
- 33 García Fernández, 'La frontera de Granada a mediados del siglo XIV', p. 82.
- 34 C. Torres Delgado, *El antiguo reino nazari de Granada (1232–1340)* (Granada, 1974), pp. 161–2; M. Nieto Cumplido, *Historia de la Iglesia en Córdoba. Reconquista y restauración (1146–1326)* (Córdoba, 1991), p. 113.
- 35 M. Á. Manzano Rodríguez, *La intervención de los Benimerines en la Península Ibérica* (Madrid, 1992), p. 49.
- 36 M. García Fernández, 'Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada en tiempos de Alfonso XI, 1312–1350', *Ifigea*, 5–6 (1988–1989), 143.
- 37 M. García Fernández, 'Tensiones nobiliarias y gobierno municipal en Córdoba', p. 240.
- 38 J. M. Escobar Camacho, 'Zamora en la Edad Media', in *Encuentros de historia local. La Subbética*, ed. J. Aranda Doncel (Baena, 1990), pp. 79–90; and also Nieto Cumplido, 'Las cartas de fuero y repoblación de Cabra y Lucena'.
- 39 Nieto Cumplido, 'Aportación a la historia de Lucena', p. 247 [printed incorrectly as p. 347].
- 40 Archivo Catedral de Córdoba (ACC), caja N, doc. 26, reg. in *Corpus Medievale Cordubense (1106–1255)*, ed. M. Nieto Cumplido (Córdoba, 1977), vol. I, pp. 171–3, doc. 343.
- 41 Nieto Cumplido, 'Aportación a la historia de Lucena', p. 247; Sanz Sancho, *Geografía del obispado de Córdoba*, p. 164.
- 42 Archivo Municipal de Córdoba, sec. 2, serie 1, doc. 1, publ. in García Fernández, 'Tensiones nobiliarias y gobierno municipal en Córdoba', p. 248: '*A lo que dezides que enbiase dezir al obispo que basteçiese a Lucena, e que la labrase. A ésto digo que le mandé dar los terçuelos para con que lo labre, e lo bastesca, e sea aguardado para mio seruiço, e uosotros non resçibades mal nin danno por esta razón*'.
- 43 Nieto Cumplido, 'Aportación a la historia de Lucena', p. 247, correcting the word *terzuelos*, which was wrongly read as *Terrinelos* by R. Ramírez de Arellano, *Historia de Córdoba desde su fundación hasta la muerte de Isabel la Católica* (Ciudad Real, 1919), vol. IV, p. 93.
- 44 AHN, OM, carp. 92, doc. 5, publ. in Josserand, 'Lucena: une forteresse à l'encan', pp. 616–17, doc. 9.
- 45 P. Porras Arboledas, 'La organización militar y social de la frontera jiennense en la Edad Media', in *Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza. La sociedad andaluza medieval: grupos no privilegiados*, ed. M. González Jiménez and J. Rodríguez Molina (Jaén, 1984), p. 482.
- 46 The accurate situation of this castle was established by A. Arjona Castro, 'Castillos de Córdoba: Carcabuey y Tiñosa', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba*, 109 (1985), 98.
- 47 J. M. Nieto Soria, 'Castillos eclesiásticos en la frontera suroriental castellana a fines del siglo XIII', *Castillos de España*, 95 (1988), 45–50, especially pp. 45–6.
- 48 Biblioteca de la Catedral de Córdoba (BCC), Ms. 125, fol. 31r–v., publ. in J. M. Nieto Soria, *Las relaciones monarquía-episcopado castellano como sistema de poder, 1252–1312* (Madrid, 1983), vol. 2, pp. 93–4, and *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*, ed. M. González Jiménez (Seville, 1991), pp. 459–60, doc. 437.

- 49 BCC, Ms. 125, fol. 19r, publ. Nieto Soria, *Las relaciones monarquía-episcopado*, vol. 2, pp. 103–4, and *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*, ed. M. González Jiménez, pp. 493–4, doc. 466: ‘Onde porque yo vi que tan grand danno uinie deste logar a la egleſia e [. . .] a mi tierra, tóuelo por bien e mandéles que quebrantassen el algibe e que deribassen e desfziessen el castillo de suelo, porque después moros non se pudiesſen y amparar nin uenga ende danno a la mi tierra’.
- 50 BCC, Ms. 125, fol. 31r., publ. in Nieto Soria, *Las relaciones monarquía-episcopado*, vol. 2, pp. 106–7, and *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*, ed. M. González Jiménez, p. 500, doc. 475: ‘Sepades que Domingo Ramir, vuestro canónigo, vino a mi e dixome de como Melén Rodríguez dixo al maestre de la orden de Calatraua de mi parte que recibiesse el castiello de Tinosa que me uos diérades’.
- 51 AHN, OM, carp. 92, doc. 5, publ. in Josserand, ‘Lucena: une forteresse à l’encan’, pp. 616–17, doc. 9: ‘Quando nuestro ſennor el rey ffue en Cordoua, a la venida de la çerca de Teba, que ffue en la era de mil e trezientos e ſſeſſenta e ocho annos, que el dicho obispo que affrontara e pidiera por merçed al rey mucho affincada mente que tomasse o mandasse tomar el dicho castiello e villa de Lucena’.
- 52 Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la péninsule Ibérique*, pp. 246 and 253.
- 53 In 1327, the military abilities of Vasco Rodríguez proved essential for his promotion to the mastership as a substitute of García Fernández, who was described as too weak and too old for such a responsibility. See *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ed. J. Cerdà, in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 66 (Madrid, 1953), ch. 49, p. 204, and also *Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ed. D. Catalán (Madrid, 1977), vol. 1, ch. 64, p. 398.
- 54 *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ch. 70, p. 217, and *Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI*, vol. 1, ch. 91, p. 448.
- 55 B. Vázquez Campos, *Los adelantados mayores de la frontera o Andalucía (siglos XIII–XIV)* (Seville, 2006), pp. 61–4 and 310–16.
- 56 Despite the doubts of C. de Ayala Martínez, ‘Órdenes militares y frontera en el siglo XIV’, *En la España Medieval*, 23 (2000), 269, this fact emerges from a letter which the master wrote to his proctor during the siege of Ayamonte: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), gaveta 5, maço 2, doc. 6, reg. in A. Huarte y Echenique, ‘Catálogo de documentos relacionados con la historia de España existentes en los archivos portugueses (siglos XI al XV)’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 107 (1935), 765. On this occasion, the master served with various knights of his order, among them his nephew, Vasco López, according to M. Garrido Santiago, *Arquitectura militar de la orden de Santiago en Extremadura* (Mérida, 1989), p. 228.
- 57 Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la péninsule Ibérique*, pp. 253 and 441.
- 58 AHN, OM, carp. 69, doc. 10.
- 59 See e.g. Arjona Castro, ‘La comarca de la Subbética cordobesa’, p. 131.
- 60 Sanz Sancho, *Geografía del obispado de Córdoba*, p. 127.
- 61 M. Á. Ladero Quesada, ‘La orden de Santiago en Andalucía. Bienes, rentas y vasallos a fines del siglo XV’, *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 2 (1975), 333, no. 7; Nieto Cumplido, ‘Aportación a la historia de Lucena’, p. 248.
- 62 AHN, OM, carp. 92, doc. 5 and 7, publ. in Josserand, ‘Lucena: une forteresse à l’encan’, pp. 616–17 and 618–19, docs. 9 and 11.
- 63 AHN, OM, carp. 92, doc. 4, publ. in Josserand, ‘Lucena: une forteresse à l’encan’, pp. 614–15, doc. 6.
- 64 AHN, OM, carp. 92, doc. 7, publ. in Josserand, ‘Lucena: une forteresse à l’encan’, pp. 618–19, doc. 11: ‘Por ffazer bien e merçed a uos, Johan Lopes, nuestro criado, e por mucho seruiçio que ffiziastes a nos e a nuestra Orden e en labrar el nuestro castiello de Benamexir, et otrossy por el affan e trabaio que tomastes en las lauores que ffiziastes en Luçena, quitamos uos que non ffagades nin sseades tenuto de ffazer la torre a que ssodes tenuto de ffazer en la nuestra casa de Guadalcazar, termino de Cordoua, ssegunt la condiçion a que ssodes obligado a nos e a la Orden de la ffazer. E esta merçed

uos ffazemos ssy, deste camyno do ydes connusco a deçercar Gibraltar, murierdes en qual quier manera'.

- 65 AHN, OM, carp. 92, doc. 4, publ. in Josserand, 'Lucena: une forteresse à l'encan', pp. 614–15, doc. 6.
- 66 AHN, OM, carp. 92, doc. 6, publ. in Josserand, 'Lucena: une forteresse à l'encan', p. 618, doc. 10.
- 67 This attack is described in the *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ch. 110, p. 244, and the *Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI*, vol. 2, ch. 131, pp. 30–1, and celebrated by Ibn al-Jatīb, *al-Lahma al-badriyya fī l-dawla al-nasriyya*, ed. E. Molina López and J. M. Casciaro Ramírez (Granada, 1998), p. 100.
- 68 R. Fernández González, 'El castillo de Luque', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba*, 86 (1964), 224: '*Habiendo ganado la famosa batalla junto al río Salado, cerca de Tarifa, donde murieron docientos mil moros de pelea e después desto ganó a Olvera e a Prama e a Villa Marto e a las Cuevas e a Teba Cañete e a todos los demás pueblos comarcados e a Lucena e a Rute e a Carcabuey e a Alcaudete con sus carabañas e a Benameji e a todos los demás pueblos comarcados*'. In view of the topographical as well as chronological errors the text presents, it is unnecessary to insist on its lack of reliability.
- 69 AHN, OM, carp. 92, doc. 5, publ. in Josserand, 'Lucena: une forteresse à l'encan', pp. 616–17, doc. 9: '*Et que esta affruenta que ffazia ante quel ffiziesse la paga en qual deffendia que non labrasse el dicho castiello e villa, que tenia que era grant desseruicio de Dios e del rrey e que sse podria ende sseguir grant danno a la tierra. Pero que dixo que por que entendia que era sseruicio de Dios e de nuestro ssennor el rrey e por que estaua en tal logar el dicho castiello e villa de Luçena por que, ssy sse perdiessse por mengua de lauor, que sserie grant desseruicio de Dios e del rrey e que la ffrontera rreçibrie grant danno de los moros e que, ffasta quel ffiçiesse la paga, que el que non dexaria de labrar nin de mandar labrar en el dicho castiello e villa por conplir sseruicio de Dios e del rrey e guardar toda via ssu verdat*'.
- 70 Nieto Cumplido, 'Aportación a la historia de Lucena', p. 249.
- 71 García Fernández, 'Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada en tiempos de Alfonso XI', pp. 143–4.
- 72 García Fernández, 'La frontera de Granada a mediados del siglo XIV', p. 78, reported that '*la tregua no significó jamás la paz, ni mucho menos la absoluta interrupción a nivel general de toda Andalucía de las operaciones bélicas*'.
- 73 Rodríguez Blanco, 'Las órdenes militares en la frontera', p. 155.
- 74 ACC, caja N, doc. 9.
- 75 AHN, OM, carp. 92, doc. 6, publ. Josserand, 'Lucena: une forteresse à l'encan', p. 618, doc. 10.
- 76 Alfonso XI, *Libro de la Montería*, ed. M. I. Montoya Ramírez (Granada, 1992).
- 77 Nieto Cumplido, 'Aportación a la historia de Lucena', pp. 250–1; J. Hurtado y Delgado and A. Sánchez Romero, 'Torreones y fortificaciones militares en la frontera cristiano-nazarita al sur de Córdoba', *Castillos de España*, 95 (1988), 5.
- 78 Manzano Rodríguez, *La intervención de los Benimerines en la Península Ibérica*, pp. 223–30.
- 79 García Fernández, 'Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada en tiempos de Alfonso XI', p. 144.
- 80 *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ch. 121, pp. 253–4, and *Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI*, vol. II, ch. 142, p. 56.
- 81 In the autumn of 1333, the master of Calatrava Juan Núñez de Prado began important works of fortification on the castle of Cabra, which had been destroyed in an earlier attack from Granada (AHN, OM, Libro 1347, fol. 1r–v.). This episode was shortly related by García Fernández, 'Fortificaciones fronterizas andaluzas en tiempos de Alfonso XI de Castilla (1312–1350)', *Castillos de España*, 95 (1988), 57.
- 82 The period when Juan Pérez was in charge of the place was certainly very short, for on 12 February 1334 it was said to have expired (ACC, caja I, doc. 374).

- 83 Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu, Altamira, carp. 4, doc. 5, publ. in Josserand, 'Lucena: une forteresse à l'encan', pp. 619–20, doc. 14: '*Por rrazon que nos les ouïemos enbiado mandar por otra nuestra carta que entregassen el alcaçar de la uilla de Lucena a Egas, nuestro vassallo, e quel diessen ssu rretenençia con el dicho alcaçar en quanto durasse la guerra e aquella quantia ssegunt que lo dauan a Johan Perez al tienpo que tenia el dicho alcaçar, et quel pagassen el primero terçio de la dicha rretenençia luego quel entregassen el dicho alcaçar e el ssegundo terçio ffasta quatro messes primeros siguientes et el otro terçio ffasta quatro messes otrosi primeros siguientes*'.
- 84 ACC, caja I, doc. 374.
- 85 ACC, caja N, doc. 10.
- 86 ACC, caja I, doc. 374.
- 87 BCC, Ms. 166, fol. 11r–12v. The document was referred to by Ramírez de Arellano, *Historia de Córdoba*, vol. 4, p. 101, on the basis of an original which I was unable to find in the cathedral archives.
- 88 BCC, Ms. 164, fol. 242v–3v.
- 89 Nieto Cumplido, 'Aportación a la historia de Lucena', p. 250.
- 90 BCC, Ms. 164, fol. 241r–9v. The grant of Lucena to Leonor de Guzmán has been mentioned by Nieto Cumplido, 'Aportación a la historia de Lucena', pp. 252–3, and by Sanz Sancho, *Geografía del obispado de Córdoba*, p. 127, and *La iglesia de Córdoba*, p. 124, and more extensively studied by García Fernández, 'Doña Leonor de Guzmán y Andalucía. Formación, consolidación y repoblación de su patrimonio señorial (1332–1344)', in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Historia Medieval*, ed. E. Cabrera Muñoz (Cordoba, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 119–28, especially p. 126.
- 91 Nieto Cumplido, 'Las cartas de fuero y repoblación de Cabra y Lucena', p. 95.
- 92 P. Josserand, 'Un corps d'armée spécialisé au service de la Reconquête. Les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252–1369)', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique de Nantes et de Loire-Atlantique*, 137 (2002), 193–214; P. Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la péninsule Ibérique*, pp. 247–55.
- 93 C. de Ayala Martínez, 'Las fortalezas castellanas de la orden de Calatrava en el siglo XII', *En la España Medieval*, 16 (1993), 25–30; C. de Ayala Martínez, 'Fortalezas y creación de espacio político: la orden de Santiago y el territorio conquense (siglos XII–XIII)', *Meridies. Revista de Historia Medieval*, 2 (1995), 41–4.
- 94 Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la péninsule Ibérique*, p. 278.
- 95 García Fernández, *El reino de Sevilla en tiempos de Alfonso XI (1312–1350)* (Seville, 1989), p. 113: '*A pesar de todo, el poblamiento de la frontera fue una tarea difícil de escaso atractivo y cuyos resultados finales estuvieron muchas veces amenazados por las razzias granadinas y norteafricanas. En consecuencia, las plazas de frontera soportaron durante el siglo XIV un alarmante subpoblamiento crónico, convertidas prácticamente en auténticos presidios militares*'.
- 96 In 1342, Alfonso XI felt compelled to grant Cabra a general tax exemption '*por razon que mandamos a don Johan Nunes, maestre de la orden de la cavalleria de Calatrava, que poblase e ficiese poblar el lugar que es de la dicha orden el qual estruyeron los moros e quel dicho maestre dixo nos que se non podia poblar sinon haciendo nos gracias y mercedes a los que hy vinieren a poblar [...] para que la dicha villa se pueda mexor poblar y los vecinos dende sean mas ricos e mas abastados y tengan con que nos servir en la dicha frontera*' (AHN, OM, Libro 1347, fol. 1r–v).
- 97 A good reference to the transfer of resources can be found in a letter sent by King Jaime II of Aragon to the master of Santiago, Juan Osórez, in 1298. See R. Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli, *La orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón. La encomienda de Montalbán (1210–1327)* (Saragossa, 1980), pp. 324–5, doc. 126: '*Maestro, ya sabedes de como los castiellos de Ricot e de Alaedo et de otros lugares que son de vuestra orden son edificados et sitiados en el regno de Murcia, los quales por raçon de la guerra que y es entre nos et Castiella han mester ayuda et socorro para la guarda et retenimiento*

dellos, ca las rendidas de los ditos castiellos non puedan complir menos de ayuda vuestra o de los otros lugares que son de la vuestra orden'.

- 98 For the example of the Hospitallers, see C. Barquero Goñi, 'Los Hospitalarios en el reino de León (siglos XII–XIII)', in *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*, vol. 9 (León, 1997), p. 524, merely pointed out that 'el mantenimiento de todo este conjunto de fortificaciones debió de significar una carga bastante considerable para las rentas de la orden de San Juan'.
- 99 M. C. Quintanilla Raso, 'Acerca de las fortalezas andaluzas en la frontera granadina durante el siglo XV', in *Relaciones exteriores del reino de Granada. Cuarto Coloquio de Historia Andaluza Medieval*, ed. C. Segura Graiño (Almería, 1988), p. 254.
- 100 Significantly, Barquero Goñi, 'Los Hospitalarios en el reino de León', p. 525, refers only to the sending of arms to the Muslim frontier.
- 101 Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la péninsule Ibérique*, pp. 279–80; P. Josserand, 'De l'arrière au front. Perspectives croisées, perspectives comparées. Regards sur la logistique des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge', in *As ordens militares. Freires, guerreiros, cavaleiros*, ed. I.C.F. Fernandes (Palmela, 2012), vol. II, pp. 692–3.
- 102 Ladero Quesada, 'La guerra del Estrecho', in *XXXI Semana de Estudios Medievales (Estella, 18 a 24 de julio de 2004)* (Pamplona, 2005), pp. 265–9.
- 103 Sanz Sancho, *Geografía del obispado de Córdoba*, pp. 98–9; M. Rojas Gabriel, 'Guerra de asedio y expugnación castral en la frontera de Granada. El reinado de Alfonso XI como paradigma (1325–1350)', in *Actas das IV Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História medieval. As relações de fronteira no século de Alcanices*, ed. L. A. da Fonseca (Porto, 1998), vol. 2, p. 888.
- 104 Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la péninsule Ibérique*, pp. 283–4.
- 105 Manzano Rodríguez, *La intervención de los Benimerines en la Península Ibérica*, pp. 34–57.
- 106 C. de Ayala Martínez, 'La orden de Santiago en la evolución política del reinado de Alfonso X (1252–1284)', *Cuadernos de Historia Medieval*, 4 (1983), 22.
- 107 Ibn Abi Zar, *Rawd al-Qirtās*, ed. A. Huici Miranda (Valence, 1964), vol. 2, p. 615.
- 108 Nieto Cumplido, *Historia de la Iglesia en Córdoba*, pp. 114 and 313.
- 109 R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232–1492)* (Paris, 1973), pp. 82–3.
- 110 *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ch. 121, pp. 253–4, and *Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI*, vol. 2, ch. 142, p. 56.
- 111 *Ibid.*, ch. 258, p. 334: 'Et envió a don Alfonso Méndez, maestre de Santiago, que cercase el castillo de Benamexil. Et estido y el maestre tres días, et entregarongelo'.
- 112 *Ibid.*, ch. 280, p. 353: 'Llegó mandado que el rey de Granada fuera a Benamexil, castiello de la orden de Santiago, e lo tomará'.
- 113 Pedro López de Ayala, 'Crónica del rey don Pedro', in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, ed. J. Cerdà, vol. 66 (Madrid, 1953), an. XIII, ch. 2, p. 516: 'El rey don Pedro, dende á pocos dias despues que esta pelea fué, al comienzo de la quaresma entró en el regno de Granada con todo su poder; é ganó de ese camino estos logares, Iznaxar, é Cesna, é Sagra, é Benamexir; é dexó en ellos recabdo de gentes é de viandas'. Benamejí may have been seized by the Moors after the military success of Muhammad IV at Guadix on 15 January 1362. In that case, the place would have been taken back by the Castilians between 1343 and 1361. A letter sent by Pedro I to the Aragonese King Pedro IV in March 1362 seems to corroborate this supposition [L. V. Díaz Martín, *Colección documental de Pedro I de Castilla, 1350–1369* (Salamanca, 1997), vol. 4, pp. 96–7, doc. 1180].
- 114 Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la péninsule Ibérique*, pp. 283–5.
- 115 M. A. Ladero Quesada, *Andalucía en el siglo XV. Estudios de historia política* (Madrid, 1973), p. 70; A. Collantes de Terán Sánchez, 'Los señoríos andaluces. Análisis de su evolución territorial en la Edad Media', *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 6 (1979),

- 89–112; and, more extensively, R. Sánchez Saus, 'Aristocracia y frontera en la Andalucía medieval', *Estudios de Historia y de Arqueología Medievales*, 11 (1996), 191–215, and R. Sánchez Saus, 'Nobleza y frontera en la Andalucía medieval', in *Hacedores de frontera. Estudios sobre el contexto social de la frontera en la España medieval*, ed. M. A. Rodríguez de la Peña (Madrid, 2009), pp. 121–8, especially p. 122.
- 116 AHN, OM, carp. 92, doc. 4, publ. in Josserand, 'Lucena: une forteresse à l'encan', pp. 614–15, doc. 6. Among the witnesses the document lists Pedro Ponce de Cabrera, head of the lineage Ponce de León, descended from the famous Ponce de Cabrera and second lord of Marchena [R. Sánchez Saus, *Caballería y linaje en la Sevilla medieval* (Cadix, 1989), pp. 347–8], and Alfonso Fernández, heir of Fernán Alfonso, *alguacil mayor* of Córdoba [M. C. Quintanilla Raso, *Nobleza y señoríos en el reino de Córdoba. La casa de Aguilar (siglos XIV–XV)* (Córdoba, 1979), pp. 34–5].
- 117 The considerable esteem the inhabitants of Andalusia had for the master of Santiago is evident from a letter sent by the urban authorities of Seville to those of Baeza in November 1328, when he was made *adelantado de la frontera*. Archivo Municipal de Baeza, publ. in J. Rodríguez Molina, *Colección diplomática de Baeza (siglos XIII–XV)* (Jaén, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 71–2, doc. 27: 'Vos dezimos que pues es en merçed a nuestro sennor el rey el bien e la merçed que fizo al dicho maestre, don Vasco Rodriguez, por que el es e por quantos bonos serviçios a fecho a nuestro sennor el rey, e otrossi por quan bona vezindat vos e nos e todos los de esta tierra oviemos de la orden de Santiago, et sennaladamiente despues que el fue maestre, et sabet que por todas estas cosas que dichas son e por que son muy çiertos que sea tal el dicho maestre que sirviera en este ofiçio a nuestro sennor el rey bien e verdaderamente e es omne que procurara de guardar a vos e a nos e a todos los de esta tierra e cada uno de ellos en su derecho, seyendo nos muy conplidos al mandamiento de nuestro sennor el rey, cuyo naturales e so cuya merçed somos, obedeçemoslas sus cartas e complimos el su mandamiento e reçibimos al dicho maestre, don Vasco Rodriguez, por adelantado segunt nuestro sennor el rey nos embio mandar por sus cartas'. The respect the master aroused among the Muslims was considerate, according to a letter sent by Alfonso XI to King Alfonso IV of Aragón in January 1331 concerning the truce personally offered by the sultan of Granada, Muhammad IV, to Vasco Rodríguez [Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cartas Reales de Alfonso IV, doc. 1406, quoted in A. Giménez Soler, *La Corona de Aragón y Granada* (Barcelona, 1908), p. 249].
- 118 Josserand, 'Frontière', in *P&C*, pp. 372–5, and Josserand, 'Frontières et ordres militaires dans le monde latin au Moyen Âge', especially pp. 195 and 197.
- 119 D. Lomax, 'Las órdenes militares en León durante la Edad Media', in *León medieval. Doce estudios Ponencias y comunicaciones presentadas al coloquio "El Reino de León en la Edad Media"*, XXXIIº Congreso de la Asociación Luso-Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias (León, 28 marzo – 1 abril 1977), p. 87.
- 120 A. Demurger, *Les Templiers. Une chevalerie chrétienne au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2005), especially pp. 330–44, and P. Josserand, 'Les Templiers en France: histoire et héritage', *Revue Historique*, 669:1 (2014), 197–214.
- 121 S. Gouguenheim, *Les chevaliers teutoniques* (Paris, 2007), p. 303.

3 The symbolic power of spiritual knighthood

Discourse and context of the donation of Count Thierry of Alsace to the Templar Order in the county of Flanders

Xavier Baecke

On 19 September 1128, the count of Flanders, Thierry of Alsace, who only a few months earlier had defeated his opponent William Clito and thereby ended the civil war that had ensued after the murder of Count Charles the Good, convened some of the most important clerics and barons of the land at the Church of St-Peter in Cassel. There, in what must have been an impressive ceremony, he bestowed the relief on the county (i.e. the dues a vassal owed his lord when he inherited a fief) to the Order of the Temple in the presence of its master, Hugh of Payns, Godfrey of St-Omer, Payen of Montdidier and other Templar knights. Not only the count favoured the Order: some of the most influential noblemen of the county imitated the donation during the same ceremony.¹ Albeit remarkable, the gift was by no means original. Only a few months earlier Thierry's predecessor and former opponent William Clito had endowed the Templars with the same gift.² The wording of Thierry's charter clearly indicates that his donation was influenced by that of William, even though it made no mention of it. It also, however, introduced a number of highly significant new elements.

These donations formed the basis for a close link between the counts of Flanders and the Order of the Temple. This link not only resulted in substantial donations made by the counts themselves, but it also stimulated the nobility of Flanders to support the order. By the time of the Order's dissolution, the Templars had established an elaborate network of commanderies and possessions throughout the entire county.³ The diplomatic evidence reveals that the Templars were regularly present at the comital court.⁴ Under the rule of Count Thierry, a fervent patron of the Order, the Flemish Templar Osto of St-Omer emerged as *magister in Anglia*.⁵ That the principalities neighbouring Flanders were also influenced by Thierry's endowment to the Templars in 1228 is suggested by the fact that the first gifts made by the dukes of Brabant and the counts of Hainaut to the Templars bore a striking resemblance to it.⁶ As Helen Nicholson has stated, 'Flanders was at the centre of the patronage of the military orders and of chivalric ideals'.⁷

The donation of Thierry was important for the establishment of the Templar Order in Flanders and its neighbouring principalities. It also illustrates the cultural

climate and socio-political circumstances that allowed the Templars to establish themselves in the West. Traditionally, historians have reduced the motivations for such donations to the reasons explicitly mentioned in the charters.⁸ Nicholson, however, has moved beyond such a literal reading of the sources by identifying a range of different factors that could have stimulated the patronage for the military orders, including social relations (such as family or feudal bounds), cultural practices (such as crusading or charitable acts), or economic conditions.⁹ According to her, one of the central motivations was the ideal of 'spiritual knighthood', which also explains the changing attitude towards the military orders in the thirteenth century.¹⁰ 'Spiritual knighthood' was an emerging idea in the twelfth century that knightly activity could serve a divine purpose while at the same time redeeming the soul.¹¹ How exactly this ideal functioned in the early twelfth-century society and how it generated popular support for the military orders is still poorly understood.

This chapter examines the cultural and historical context of Thierry's donation to the Templars in 1128, arguing that one important reason for it was that the Templars were perceived as the embodiment of spiritual knighthood, and therefore generated a type of 'symbolic power', which was embedded in the increasingly influential image of the spiritual Christian knight.¹² Its aim is to substantiate the claim made by Malcolm Barber in 1984 that 'the Templars had been established as a living ideal of Christian chivalry, whose standards had been set with great vividness by Bernard of Clairvaux. The Order's material success stemmed from this.'¹³ Moreover, it is also important to acknowledge the socio-political contexts in which such donations were made, for it was these contexts which led benefactors to associate themselves with the Templar Order and its symbolic power. The socio-political turmoil surrounding Thierry's donation offers an exceptional opportunity to study how the idea of 'spiritual knighthood' as embodied by the Templars could serve as a means of 'symbolic power' to pacify the nobility and to strengthen the comital authority.

Historians inspired by historical anthropology have long stressed the importance of charters in conveying ideas and ideologies.¹⁴ Stephen White, using a concept coined by Marcel Mauss, characterized the medieval issuing of charters as 'total social phenomena'. This means that charters and the *negotium* they described were more than a written condensation of material transactions. They were also a manifestation of the social networks that produced them and an active agent upon the relations within these networks.¹⁵ The work of Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld has furthered this perspective by demonstrating that charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were more than merely the literary acts of juridical *negotia*; they were the literary condensation of gift-giving ceremonies.¹⁶ In what follows I argue that Thierry's donation should also be analyzed from that perspective.

Conducting such an analysis is possible only because of the survival of a large number of contemporary sources, thanks to which we are extraordinarily well informed about the events surrounding Thierry's donation in 1128.¹⁷ The journalistic account of Galbert of Bruges is especially noteworthy, because it contains an almost day-to-day account of the dramatic events occurring in Flanders during the

years 1127–1128.¹⁸ It also explicitly deals with questions of divine providence and the basis of good rulership.¹⁹ The initial motivation for Galbert to start this remarkable work had been the murder of Count Charles the Good during prayer in the church of St-Donatian in Bruges on 4 March 1127 by members of the powerful Erembald clan, one of the most important Flemish noble families, whose social position the count had threatened.²⁰ Soon after the murder the perpetrators looked to consolidate their power by appealing to their numerable relations for assistance. The most important of their allies was William of Ypres. He belonged to the comital family, albeit only as an illegitimate son of Philip of Loo. The Erembalds promised to elevate him to the position of count in exchange for his assistance in their coup. William, who had already rebelled against Charles in 1119, did not hesitate to take advantage of this opportunity and began conquering large parts of maritime Flanders, where he commanded oaths of fidelity as the new count.²¹

However, opposition to the Erembalds and William of Ypres soon flared up. Gervaise of Praat was the first to take up arms against the usurpers. With the help of the citizens of Bruges he was able to take the city and to force the Erembalds to retreat into the comital castle. Although most of the allies of the Erembalds seem to have withheld their support, Gervaise's rapid success encouraged other noblemen to join the opposition. Among those were Wenemar, the castellan of Ghent, and Ivan, brother of Baldwin of Alost, one of the most powerful nobles of the county, who held a considerable amount of lands in the eastern part of Flanders.²² These noblemen, assisted by the French king Louis VI, succeeded in forcing the besieged Erembalds out, with many of them being caught and executed in the process.

Seeking to increase his own influence in Flanders, King Louis VI moved quickly to pressure the barons into electing William Clito as the new count, a position that was officially bestowed on him only one week after the murder of Count Charles. The new count was initially successful in manifesting his authority. He pursued the Erembalds and their allies, drove out rival claimants, and captured William of Ypres. However, William Clito's failure to uphold his pledge to the cities to have considerable liberties bestowed upon them soon led to open rebellion against him. The citizens of Ghent, soon joined by those of Bruges, renounced William as their count and rose up against their castellan, Wenemar. They were headed by two peers of the county: Ivan, who had succeeded his brother to the lordship of Alost, and Daniel, lord of Termonde. Gervaise of Praet, whom Count William had appointed castellan of Bruges in 1127, remained faithful to his benefactor at first, but later also turned against him by throwing his lot with the burghers of Ghent. On 30 March 1128 the rebels elected Thierry of Alsace as their new count. Thierry relied heavily on the support of the cities and promised to restore their rights and expand their juridical freedom. A great portion of the nobility, however, sided with William. In the ensuing battle of Axspoele, on 21 June 1128, Thierry lost because of the clever tactics and the greater number of knights of Count William. As a result, the political situation turned so chaotic that Galbert of Bruges wrote: 'Now in truth the old land was so torn by dangers, by ravaging, arson, treachery, and deceit that no honest man could live in security.'²³ After the battle of Axspoele,

Thierry found himself on the defensive. Cornered by William Clito in the besieged city of Alost, his prospects seemed very grim indeed. Galbert reported how fear struck the citizens of Bruges because of the repercussions they expected Count William to release upon them.²⁴ However, by a turn of fate, Count William was wounded during the siege and succumbed to his injuries on 28 July.

Thierry therefore did not defeat his opponent because he had the general support of the Flemish or because he had gained a prestigious military victory. He had defeated his enemy by what contemporary writers could only interpret as divine will.²⁵ He was left to deal with a politically highly fractured county.²⁶ Although Thierry had the support of the cities, he had problems dealing with the nobility and knights of the county, a large proportion of whom had supported William. That their opposition presented a real threat to his rule was demonstrated some years later, when William of Ypres again rose up (albeit unsuccessfully) in rebellion against him.²⁷ His tactics therefore had to be directed especially at consolidating new relationships with and among the nobility on the one hand, and at establishing his authority over them on the other.²⁸ Thierry's donation to the Templars should be seen as an early step towards achieving these goals. After all, many of the witnesses of the donation (such as Gervaise of Praet and Daniel of Termonde) had played leading roles during the civil war. Some of them even were among those who imitated the count's donation. They included Ivan of Alost, who had been Thierry's main supporter; Wenemar of Ghent, who had remained faithful to Count William; and William of Ypres, the former comital candidate of the Erembalds who, once released from captivity, had fought against Thierry on Count William's side.²⁹ By imitating the donation, these men bound themselves to the count through their common association with the Templar Order. From the historical context and the witness list it therefore emerges that the ritual performance of Count Thierry's donation functioned as what Barbara Rosenwein has described as 'social glue'.³⁰

The gift itself was also not without significance.³¹ The relief on the county supplemented by the relief on the lands of influential noblemen must have enriched the Order of the Temple considerably. Furthermore, the relief held significance as a right relating to all noblemen of the county and emphasized the hierarchical relationship between them and the count. Finally, the relief had attained a particular political symbolism during the civil war. Galbert reported that the cities had revolted against William not only because he had violated their liberties but also because of the relief he had rendered the French king, a right which no king before him had held in Flanders.³² It may well be that Galbert's Flemish contemporaries had considered the bestowal of the relief to the king as another unlawful threat to their autonomy and legal status. By giving away his own right to the relief to the Templars, Thierry had signalled to them that he would not allow the French king to challenge the county's autonomy nor allow him to exact dues from it. The choice of location for the donation substantiated this emphasis on autonomy even further, while also underlining Thierry's legitimacy as count. The collegial church of St-Peter in Cassel had been erected by Thierry's grandfather, the former count Robert the Frisian, who was buried there.³³ Robert had built the church to commemorate his victory at the battle of Cassel in 1071.³⁴ This battle had not been forgotten by

the time Thierry made his donation; many contemporary sources, including Galbert of Bruges, describe it in extensive detail.³⁵ Although many of these sources question the legitimacy of Robert's actions, they also indicate that many Flemish nobles supported his claim to the comital title. Very likely the genealogy of the counts of Flanders written later in the twelfth century represents their perspective, portraying, as it does, the battle as a legitimate uprising supported by all Flemish nobles and cities against the tyranny of Count Arnold III and his mother Richilde.³⁶ The election of Count Robert by the Flemish nobility had been legitimate, and he had gained a glorious victory at Cassel, opposing not only the forces of Hainaut, but also those of the French king. It is not difficult to see the parallels between the situations of Robert and Thierry, except for the fact that Thierry had not obtained an equally decisive victory. By choosing the Church of St-Peter as the place to make his endowment to the Templars, Thierry associated himself with the military prestige of Robert the Frisian and asserted his legitimate claim to the county by invoking his grandfather's military and political legacy. By convening the noblemen at the sacralized site of the battle, Thierry reminded them of their ancestors' collective stance as Flemish noblemen against an external threat and their loyalty to the count of Flanders.

The charter also reminded the nobility of the proper knight as exemplified by the counts who had succeeded Robert the Frisian and who were all kinsmen of Thierry and descendants of Robert (see Figure 3.1). The three counts mentioned were Robert II of Jerusalem, Baldwin VII and Charles the Good. Interestingly, William Clito, who was not a descendent of Robert the Frisian, was also mentioned, although he appears clearly separated from the other three.³⁷ The three counts were mostly associated with establishing peace throughout the county and were often portrayed as exemplary knights.³⁸ In the case of Robert and Charles, their endeavours as spiritual knights during the crusade and armed pilgrimages were particularly stressed.

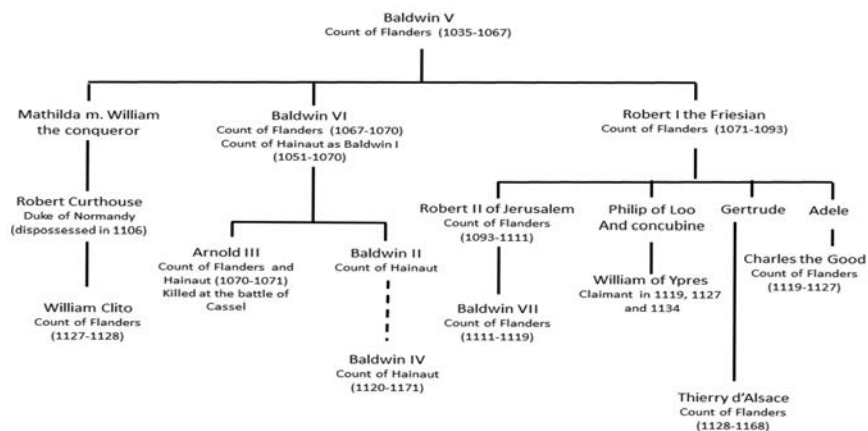


Figure 3.1 The descendants of Count Baldwin V

The association with crusading is particularly prominent in the case of Robert II, who had been one of the leading barons of the First Crusade.³⁹ A remarkable account of his expedition is provided by Walter of Théroutanne (writing in 1127), who even likened the crusade of Robert to the passion of Christ and attributed an almost saintly status to the count: 'Because of his invincible consistency of the soul, it was written that even the Arabs and the Turks themselves called him the son of Saint George'.⁴⁰ The portrayal of crusading and spiritual knighthood as the highest ideal is even more prevalent in Galbert's first chapters, where he praises the deeds of Count Charles the Good.⁴¹ He begins by describing the count's good rulership and care for the poor, followed by a description of his candidacy for the imperial throne. The account reaches its culmination in the count's armed pilgrimage to Holy Land, where he was offered the royal crown of Jerusalem. Furthermore, in the middle of the most pivotal phase of the story, just before the count's murder, Galbert once more repeats the pious deeds of Charles. These deeds stand in sharp contrast to those of Bertulf, the head of the Ermbald family, who out of malice and pride created only strife and discord.⁴² About Charles, on the other hand, Galbert says:

In the hardship and want of this pilgrimage the pious servant of the Lord learned, as he often related when he was count, in what extreme poverty the poor labour, and with what pride the rich are exalted, and finally with what misery the whole world is affected.⁴³

This suggests that Galbert regarded Charles' spiritual knighthood as a crusader to be an important positive influence on his rule.

With its spiritual qualities the knighthood of Charles the Good resembled closely the knightly ideology expressed by Bernard of Clairvaux in his treatise *De laude novae militiae*, dating to sometime between 1120 and 1136.⁴⁴ Here Bernard praises the Templars for combining of monastic piety with knightly vigour, and he stresses the hardships they undergo to obtain the crown of martyrdom. Furthermore, Bernard contrasts them, the new knights, with the *malitia* of secular knighthood, in much the same way as Galbert contrasted the character of Charles with that of the Ermbalds.⁴⁵ That ideas about the Knights Templar similar to those expressed by Bernard existed in the county of Flanders is illustrated by a charter issued shortly after 1129 by knight Baldwin Brouchet, in which he donated some of his lands near Douai to the Templars.⁴⁶ The charter mentions the great reputation that the Templars already enjoyed because of their devotion to the protection of pilgrims to the Holy Land. Even more remarkable is another charter, issued in 1131, containing a donation by Bishop Simon of Tournai-Noyon to the Templars:

We bring thanks to God, because through his mercy he will restore the order which has been lost. Because we know that God has instituted three orders in the church, namely that of those who pray, that of those who defend and that of those who labour. However, the other orders are already faltering in many

ways, while the order of the defenders is almost completely ruined. But in these new times God the Father and our Lord and God Jesus Christ, the divine son, who takes pity on his Church, by infusing our hearts with the Holy Spirit have deigned to revive this ruined order. This happened in the Holy City, so that where the church once saw its creation, the foresaid order may begin its revival.⁴⁷

Accounts like these leave us with little doubt about the reputation of the Templars as spiritual knights in the county of Flanders.

It should have become clear why Thierry had been so keen to associate himself with the Templar Order. Contemporary sources demonstrate that the ideology of 'spiritual knighthood', which was closely associated with the Templars, exerted a great attraction on contemporaries and contained a considerable amount of symbolic power, that is the power and legitimation produced by the image of the spiritual knight. Hoping to pacify the Flemish aristocracy, Count Thierry donated the relief on the county to the Templars in return for such a symbolic power. This fulfilled two purposes. On the one hand, the donation allowed Thierry to represent himself as a spiritual knight and thereby to position himself among his ancestors; this boosted his authority as count. On the other hand, he presented his nobility with an ideal that commanded loyalty, piety, restraint and respect for the peace, while it opposed the pride and conflict that had tainted the secular knighthood of his county.

Whether we can establish the same motivations behind William Clito's donation made to the Templars a few months earlier is more difficult to ascertain, because William's charter contains less information.⁴⁸ However, there are indicators that that in this case, too, the donation helped strengthen the count's position and that of his new castellan of St-Omer, who was the first witness of the donation. According to Galbert, William had installed a new castellan at St-Omer to strengthen his position in the region. But because Osto, the new castellan, 'had violently seized the goods and substance of the burghers of St-Omer and was still trying to despoil them', the burghers had risen up against the count and his castellan. They even had gone as far as choosing a new count, Arnold, who was distantly related to the comital family. William succeeded in re-establishing his rule over the city, but his relations with the burghers remained tense.⁴⁹ Very likely his donation to the Templar Order, which had been witnessed by castellan Osto of Saint-Omer, had resulted from this situation and may have fulfilled the purpose of consolidating his and Osto's position by associating them with the Templars' example of spiritual knighthood.

The fact that one of the founders of the Templar Order, Godfrey of St-Omer, probably had been a relative of Osto, supports this assumption.⁵⁰ But Godfrey should not be considered as the main driving force behind his donation. First of all, he had not been present when the donation was enacted. And second, a family link by and in itself hardly explains why the count would have agreed to make such a substantial gift to an order that was not yet firmly established in the West. It is more likely that by way of his kinsman Osto, Godfrey established a link between

the Order of the Temple and the county of Flanders, which provided the count with an opportunity to associate himself with the spiritual knighthood represented by the Templars. The reasons why the count decided to use this opportunity are found in the symbolic power of the new knighthood and the turbulent political context of early twelfth-century Flanders, which made this power so useful.

The first donations made to the Templars in the county of Flanders therefore do not merely illustrate how the Templars were able to begin building a considerable patrimony. Perhaps more important, they offer a window into the complicated and troubled socio-political web that was the Flemish nobility during the early twelfth century. In this world of conflict the image of the spiritual knight, born from the success of the First Crusade, was particularly relevant. It signified a new knighthood, which did not only bestow salvation on the souls of its noble practitioners, but also provided a basis for a new kind of divine justice and peace within the competitive networks of knights, lords and princes. Consequently, the 'spiritual knight', materialized in the crusades or in institutes such as the military orders, became a powerful element of the medieval cultural discourse and intrinsically part of the knightly habitus. The success of the Templar Order in the West depended on the strength and utility of that very image. But at the same time it may have led to the order's decline. After all, once knights developed a more conscious and more independent code of conduct as chivalry, which enabled them to appropriate such a spiritual status, what use was there left for the military orders?

Notes

- 1 *Diplomata Belgica: The Diplomatic Sources from the Medieval Southern Low Countries*, chief coordinator T. de Hemptinne (Brussels: Royal Historical Commission, since 2013) [URL: www.diplomata-belgica.be], no. 3948; *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (juli 1128–september 1191)*, ed. T. de Hemptinne and A. Verhulst, vol. I (Brussels, 1988), pp. 18–19, no. 3.
- 2 *Diplomata Belgica*, no. 160; *Actes des comtes de Flandre: 1071–1128*, ed. F. Vercauteren (Bruxelles, 1938), pp. 302–3, no. 129.
- 3 The most important works on the Templars in Flanders are L. Dailliez, *Les templiers. Flandre–Hainaut–Brabant–Liège et Luxembourg* (Nice, 1978); M. Nuyttens, *De orde van de tempeliers in België: Monasticon* (Brussels, 1999); M. Nuyttens, *Krijgers voor God. De orde van de tempeliers in de Lage Landen (1120–1312)* (Leuven & Zutphen, 2007); P. Rogghé, *De orde van de tempelridders en haar geschiedenis in het oude Graafschap Vlaanderen. Cultureel Jaarboek voor de provincie Oost-Vlaanderen*, 2 (Ghent, 1973).
- 4 Templars appear as witnesses in twenty-six comital charters during the twelfth century. *Diplomata Belgica*, nos. 4081, 3718, 5202, 5207, 2966, 5222, 5238, 5243, 3982, 477, 5302, 5303, 2971, 2648, 8571, 3642, 8573, 3015, 7725, 8068, 5440, 2712, 7454, 8598, 3505, 359.
- 5 Nuyttens, *Krijgers voor God*, pp. 173–4; P. Rogghé, 'Oste de Saint Omer. Vlaams tempelier uit de XIIe eeuw', *Appeltjes van het Meetjesland. Jaarboek van het heemkundig genootschap van het meetjesland*, 20 (1969), 245–59.
- 6 *Diplomata Belgica*, nos. 8706, 4627.
- 7 H. J. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester, London & New York, 1995), p. 67.

- 8 As summarized in A. Demurger, *Les templiers. Une chevalerie chrétienne au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2005), pp. 275–9.
- 9 Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, pp. 60–4.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 65–7.
- 11 This is most clearly evoked by Bernard of Clairvaux in his praise for the Templars as a new knighthood. Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Liber ad milites templi. De laude novae militiae’, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, *S. Bernardi opera*, 3 (Rome, 1963), pp. 213–39.
- 12 The term ‘symbolic power’ as proposed by Pierre Bourdieu is explained by John Thompson as follows: ‘Bourdieu uses the term “symbolic power” to refer not so much to a specific type of power, but rather to an aspect of most forms of power as they are routinely deployed in social life. For the routine flow of day-to-day life, power is seldom exercised as overt physical force: instead, it is transmuted into a symbolic form, and thereby endowed with a kind of legitimacy that it would not otherwise have. Bourdieu expresses this point by saying that symbolic power is an “invisible” power which is “misrecognized” as such and thereby “recognized” as legitimate. The terms “recognition” (*reconnaissance*) and “misrecognition” (*méconnaissance*) play an important role here: they underscore the fact that the exercise of power through symbolic exchange rests on a foundation of shared belief.’ P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. J. B. Thompson and G. Raymond (Cambridge, 1991), p. 23.
- 13 M. Barber, ‘The Social Context of the Templars’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 34 (1984), 46.
- 14 See e.g. A.-J. A. Bijsterveld, ‘The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach’, in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, ed. E. Cohen and M. B. De Jong (Leiden, Boston & Cologne, 2001), pp. 123–55.
- 15 S. White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: The laudatio parentum in Western France 1050–1150* (Chapel Hill, 1988), p. 4; M. Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris, 1960), p. 147.
- 16 A.-J. A. Bijsterveld, *Do ut des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Hilversum, 2007), pp. 51–82.
- 17 E.g. Anselm of Gembloux, ‘Chronicon Sigeberti continuatum’, ed. L. Bethmann, *MGH SS 6* (Hanover, 1844), pp. 375–85; Herman of Tournai, ‘Liber de restauratione monasterii Sancti Martini Tornacensis’, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS 14* (Hanover, 1883), pp. 274–314; Suger of Saint-Denis, ‘Vita Ludovici regis VI, qui Grossus dictus’, ed. H. Waquet, *Les classiques de l’histoire de France au Moyen Âge*, 11 (Paris 1929); Walter of Theroouanne, ‘Vita Karoli comitis Flandriae’, ed. J. Rider, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 217 (Turnhout, 2006).
- 18 Galbert of Bruges, ‘De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandriarum’, ed. J. Rider, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 131 (Turnhout, 1994); *The Murder of Charles the Good Count of Flanders by Galbert of Bruges. Translated with an introduction and notes*, trans. J. B. Ross (New York, 1960).
- 19 J. Deploige, ‘Political Assassination and Sanctification: Transforming Discursive Customs after the Murder of the Flemish Count Charles the God (1127)’, in *Mystifying the Monarch: Studies on Discourse, Power, and History*, ed. J. Deploige and G. Deneckere (Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 35–54; A. V. Murray, ‘The Devil in Flanders’, in *Galbert of Bruges and the Historiography of Medieval Flanders*, ed. J. Rider and A. V. Murray (Washington, DC, 2009), pp. 183–99; J. Rider, “Wonder with Fresh Wonder”: Galbert the Writer and the Genesis of the *De multro*’, in *Galbert of Bruges*, pp. 13–35.
- 20 E. Warlop, *De Vlaamse adel voor 1300*, vol. 1 (Handzame, 1968), pp. 216–36.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 235–8.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 67–70, 103–4.
- 23 ‘Tota vero terra in periculis agitabatur, in rapinis, incendiis, traditionibus, dolis, ita ut nemo discretus viveret secures’. Galbert of Bruges, ‘De multro’, p. 155; Ross, *The Murder of Charles the Good*, p. 291.

- 24 Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, pp. 161–3.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 168–9.
- 26 J. Dhondt, 'Les "solidarités" médiévales. Une société en transition: la Flandre en 1127–1128', *Annales ESC*, 12 (1957), 529–60.
- 27 E. Warlop, 'Willem van Ieper', *Leiegouw*, 6 (1964), 189–91.
- 28 Warlop, *De Vlaamse adel*, pp. 247–306.
- 29 '[P]ostea uero isti barones hoc stificantur donnus Willelmus de Ipra qui suum relicum dat nepos comitis Iuanus de Ganto qui suum similiter concedit Baudoinus de Lense similiter dapifer Gunemerus castellanus de Ghanto eodem modo Hugo Campus de Auena hoc testificatur comes Lambertus de Monte Acuto similiter Robertus de Betunia similiter Rogerius castellanus de Insula Daniel de Tenero Monte Willelmus de Bunleris Haenricus castellanus de Brobur Terricus de Rennigis Girardus filius eius castellanus de Casello Geruasius castellanus de Brugis Michael constabularius Goscelinus de Noua Ecclesia marescallus'. De Hemptinne and Verhulst, *De oorkonden*, pp. 18–19, no. 3.
- 30 B. H. Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (New York, 2006), pp. 202–7.
- 31 '[D]o et iure hereditario successoribus eorum concedo illis tantum remotis qui in seruicio meo cum armis obierint'. De Hemptinne and Verhulst, *De oorkonden*, pp. 18–19, no. 3.
- 32 Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, pp. 151, 168.
- 33 *Diplomata Belgica*, no. 102; Lambert of Ardres, 'Historia comitum Ghinensium et Ardenisum dominorum ab anno 800–1203', ed. J. Heller, *MGH SS* 24 (Hanover, 1879), p. 575.
- 34 C. Verlinden, *Robert Ier le Frison, comte de Flandre: étude d'histoire politique* (Antwerp, 1935), pp. 40–72.
- 35 Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, pp. 120–3.
- 36 'Genealogia comitum Flandriae', ed. L. C. Bethmann, *MGH SS* 9 (Hanover, 1851), pp. 321–2.
- 37 '[P]ro salute anime auunculi mei comitis Roberti atque comitis Baudoini filii eius necnon comitis Karoli insuper pro redencione anime mee atque comitis Willelmi necnon omnium antecessorum meorum'. De Hemptinne and Verhulst, *De oorkonden*, pp. 18–19, no. 3.
- 38 D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (New York & London, 1992), pp. 56–60.
- 39 J.-J. De Smet, *Mémoire sur Robert de Jérusalem, comte de Flandre à la première croisade* (Brussels, 1861); T. Luykx, *De graven van Vlaanderen en de kruisvaarten* (Hasselt, 1967), pp. 40–72.
- 40 'Ex qua ad laudem eius hoc solum hic satis est commemorari, quod ob inuincibilem animi constantiam ab ipsis quoque Arabibus ac Turcis Georgii filius scribitur appellatus'. Walter of Théroutanne, 'Vita Karoli', p. 31.
- 41 Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, pp. 5–15.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 32–5.
- 43 'In qua peregrinationis necessitate et angustia didicit pius Domini vernaculus, sicut in comitatu sedens saepe retulit, quanta egestate pauperes laborarent, qua superbia divites extollerentur; et tandem quota totus mundus miseria concuteretur'. Ibid., p. 31; Ross, *The Murder of Charles the Good*, p. 113.
- 44 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber ad milites templi*.
- 45 M. L. Bulst-Thiele, 'Die Anfänge des Templerordens. Bernhard von Clairvaux. Cîteaux', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 104 (1993), 317; J. Fleckenstein, 'Die Rechtfertigung der geistlichen Ritterorden nach der Schrift "De laude novae militiae" Bernhards von Clairvaux', in *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellman (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 14–15; A. Graboïs, "'Militia and Malitia': The Bernardine Vision of Chivalry", in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), p. 50; W. Verbaal, 'Ubi Jeruzalem? Bernard en de Tempeliers: op leven en dood voor Jeruzalem', *Novi Monasterii*, 4 (2005), 11–13.

- 46 *Diplomata Belgica*, no. 8703; *CT*, pp. 2–3, no. 4.
- 47 ‘*Gratias agimus Deo, quia per misericordiam suam ordinem qui perierat reparavit. Scimus enim quoniam a Deo tres in ecclesia sunt ordines instituti, oratorum, defensorum et laboratorum. Ceteris vero ordinibus jam in multam partem titulantibus, defensorum ordo fere penitus perierat, sed Deus pater et Dominus noster Ihesus Xpistus Deus, Dei filius, ecclesie sue misertus, per infusionem Spiritus sancti in cordibus nostris, in hiis novissimis temporibus, ordinem perditum reparare dignatus est. Et hoc in sanctam civitatem ut ubi olim ecclesia cepit oriri, ibi ordo ecclesie perdictus incipiat reparari*’. *Diplomata Belgica*, no. 8353; *CT*, pp. 23–4, no. 31.
- 48 *Diplomata Belgica*, no. 160; Vercauteren, *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, pp. 302–3, no. 129.
- 49 Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, p. 141; Ross, *The Murder of Charles the Good*, pp. 266–7.
- 50 T. Delvaux, *Le sang des Saint-Omer; des croisades à la quenouille, en Artois, Normandie, Angleterre et dans les Etats Latins d’Orient* (Tatinghem, 2007), pp. 16, 22, 265–72; J. Hosten, *De tempeliers. De tempelorde tijdens de kruistochten en in de Lage Landen* (Hilversum, 2006), pp. 237–42; Nuyttens, *Krijgers voor God*, p. 172.

4 ‘Segnoria’, ‘memoria’, ‘controversia’

Pragmatic literacy, archival memory,
and conflicts in Provence (twelfth
and thirteenth centuries)

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*Translated from the French
by Cynthia J. Johnson*

This technique [*i.e.* focusing on the actions the sources document] does not invalidate documentary critique itself, nor should it prevent medievalists from reflecting further on their sources, an action which constitutes one of their great contributions to the heuristics of history.¹

This citation from Brigitte Bedos-Rezak is a reminder to us that we historians should not content ourselves with simply using ‘sources’.² We must analyze not only how these ‘sources’ were created, but also why they have been preserved, which brings me to the notion of ‘archives’. We must, in other words, historicize the documents and archives we use. Influenced by contributions from anthropology, this approach owes a great deal to research on written culture in the broadest sense, from which we get the notion of ‘literacy’ in English and *scripturalité* in French.³ Nonetheless, faced with a concept as broad as that of ‘literacy’, medievalists needed to find a qualifier to refer to the multiple forms of writing that served practical purposes (for example financial, juridical, or administrative). Thus, the term ‘pragmatic literacy’ was born, termed *pragmatische Schriftlichkeit* in German and *écrit documentaire* in French.⁴

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries experienced a proliferation of different uses of writing to such an extent, in fact, that the written word was at the centre of social relationships and even of ‘everyday practices’, to use the title of the conference *Schriftlichkeit und Lebenspraxis im Mittelalter*.⁵ Yet, while we may be able to speak of a ‘revolution’ in terms of the kinds and numbers of documents that proliferated during that period, the High Middle Ages also witnessed what can be termed a ‘conservation revolution’.⁶

Focusing on Provence, the purpose of this chapter is to show how the military orders participated in this twofold revolution. Provence constitutes an excellent region for investigation. Facing the Mediterranean and offering direct maritime access to the Holy Land, the region was a focal point for Hospitaller and Templar

settlement.⁷ Both orders established themselves in Provence very early on – since the beginning of the twelfth century for the Hospital and since the 1130s for the Temple. By the 1220s, both had established a dense network of commanderies in the region. Most of the brothers came from local elite families, which contributed to the deep integration of the two orders within local societies. The social and spiritual appeal of these orders explains why the Temple and the Hospital remained the most influential religious orders in Provence until the arrival of the Mendicants. Consequently, both orders produced numerous documents of all kinds, many of which were preserved for very specific reasons by the archivists of the Order of Malta.⁸

Although the history of Provence during the early medieval period is somewhat clouded by the relative scarcity of surviving documents, during the twelfth century the region's history comes to light thanks to the large number of texts produced by bishops and chapters but above all by the military orders. Historians of medieval Provence have largely drawn on the collections of the Temple and the Hospital.⁹ The cartularies produced by the two orders have enabled scholars to document population groups like knightly families and allod-holders who had begun to ascend the social and economic ladder from the twelfth century onwards.¹⁰ That the military orders' archives in Provence survived in the variety and excellent condition they did was no coincidence, however, but rather results from the fact that their proliferation coincided with the spread of notaries in southern France starting in the middle of the twelfth century.¹¹ Moreover, new legal and administrative practices that developed during the thirteenth century helped contribute to the survival of these archives.¹² Yet in the end, the preservation and diversity of Templar and Hospitaller archives in Provence also results from the close attention paid by the orders themselves to the production and conservation of their documents.

This chapter is organized around three concepts used in the charters of the military orders. *Segnoria*, like its equivalent *dominium*, designates a concept of lordship where, as Alain Guerreau has reminded us, power over men was intrinsically related to power over land.¹³ This notion, which fully characterized the nature of power as exercised by the military orders in their lordships, allows us to examine the performative use of the written word in the affirmation of power.¹⁴ The second concept running through the charters of the military orders is that of *memoria* – documents related to donors were sometimes entitled *carta memorialis* or *memoriale*.¹⁵ The concept of *memoria*, which refers to memory as a collective social construct, has been the focus of scholars' interest in the different uses of writing in the Middle Ages.¹⁶ In a certain sense, all writing has a memorial function, whether it contributed to maintaining the social bond between commanderies and their lay entourage (as was the case with cartularies), or whether it served to challenge institutional powers (as was the case with documents recording testimony: inquests, recognitions of emphyteutic leases or reports of visitations). The third term, *controversia*, is most often used to designate disputes in Templar and Hospitaller charters. Legal anthropology has helped historians, above all North American ones, to change our understanding of conflicts, in particular those between monasteries and their lay neighbours.¹⁷ Although their approach can be used

profitably for the military orders, for the purpose of this study I will limit my remarks to the function of the written word in two peacemaking procedures: arbitration and inquest. Arbitration was used in conflicts between commanderies and lay property owners or other ecclesiastical establishments. From the thirteenth century onwards, however, an *inquisitio* process was increasingly used when the orders were challenged by well-organized communities and by the Angevin monarchy, which governed the region of Provence. Of course, we must also consider disputes within the regular communities themselves. A few such studies exist for the military orders, which focus on particular episodes of institutional crises.¹⁸ Rather than examining these crises, I will use the case of the Hospital to briefly address the role of the written word in affirming hierarchical positions and regular discipline within the institution. Finally, I will discuss the way in which certain documentary 'genres' contributed to the process of institutionalization by helping forge the memory and identity of religious communities.¹⁹

The cultural environment of the commanderies

In the oldest charters attributed to the military orders we find the traditional preambles invoking the necessary recourse to the written word as a means of preserving the memory of any land transfer.²⁰ These transactions, occurring in an atmosphere permeated with the reforming spirit of the time, were often written down by clerics from the milieu of the cathedral canons; that was the case for the Hospitallers near the town of Gap since the early twelfth century and for the Templars of Richerenches some twenty years later.²¹ However, the communities soon counted scribes among their brothers, as was the case in Richerenches in the 1140s–1150s, where two successive chaplains were also named the commandery's scribes. Likewise, the Hospitaller priory of St Gilles in the 1160s counted among its community a staff of clerics able to draw up charters²² (although it would be premature to speak of them as constituting a 'chancellery', as Saul Gomes has done for the Temple in Portugal).²³ Once public notaries appeared on the scene, urban commanderies were among the first to use these men, who were depositories of the *fides publica*. From the 1170s on, the Templars of St Gilles had recourse to the notary Raimon Bodonus, whereas Vincent, who reintroduced clauses from Roman law, regularly wrote up documents for the commanderies of Arles and Trinquetaille between 1185 and 1206.²⁴ Similarly, it is in the military orders' charters that we find the first jurists, men imbued with the renaissance of Roman law.²⁵ St Gilles, where the counts of Toulouse had established their *curia*, was a centre for legal activity.²⁶ Among the many renowned jurists who appear as counsellors or arbiters in the military orders' charters we find, for example, Peire Foulques (1183–1202) and his son Gui Foulques (1221–1236), who would become Pope Clement IV. The Hospitallers and Templars were, therefore, well positioned to call upon the juridical tools mastered by notaries and other legal experts (*jurisperiti*) in order to increase and defend their patrimonies in the best way possible. In order to acquire usage rights over important landed properties, for example, the military orders preferred to make use of the emphyteutic lease found in Roman law rather than of

the practice of enfeoffment, which was considered to be too constraining.²⁷ Thus, it was by means of contracts written on behalf of the commanderies that many new juridical practices, such as renunciation clauses, were disseminated throughout the region.²⁸

Over the course of the thirteenth century, the notariate spread from the cities into the countryside of southern France and rural commanderies began to employ professional notaries on a regular basis. These professional notaries not only drew up documents and kept management records up to date, they also served as clerks and investigators in the Templars and Hospitallers' courts of justice. Thus, links of proximity were created between commanderies and a small *intelligentsia* of village notables. In the village of Montfrin during the thirteenth century, for example, we can trace three generations of Lobas and Montauros family members being employed by the Temple as notaries, clerks, or judges.²⁹ Coming from the same social milieu as local notables or knightly families who had understood the importance of educating their sons in 'practical culture', the officers of the orders themselves had a certain familiarity with the written word.³⁰ The existence of registers dating from the second half of the thirteenth century, with daily entries written in the hands of Hospitaller officials from Manosque or Montpellier, demonstrates that these men knew how to keep the books and write payment receipts both in Latin and in the *Langue d'Oc*.³¹

In addition to the growing volume of archives being kept by the military orders, the material aspect of the documents also indicates a greater familiarity with the written word. The use of paper, from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards in busy administrative centres such as Marseilles and Manosque, first came into fashion among notaries working for military order commanderies. Then rapidly adopted by the brothers themselves, paper had a profound impact on the economic and institutional organization of the military orders. By first enabling them to multiply and to diversify their administrative documents (records of the *cens*, *terriers*, accounts, receipts), this new material signified the entry of the orders into the era of administrative efficiency. Furthermore, paper facilitated the exchange of information within each order: accounting sources clearly show the circulation of correspondence and messengers between the officers of the different commanderies.³² Finally, the generalization of a cursive style of writing in all these documents shows that people were writing more, and more rapidly. I would argue, therefore, that the military orders found themselves at the crossroads of two cultures: that of monasticism, which was at the origin of the Temple and the Hospital, but also that of the lay world, illustrated here by the orders' close and frequent interactions with notaries and lawyers. One kind of document symbolizes the orders' synthesis of these two cultures particularly well: the cartulary.

The cartulary: 'monumentum' and 'authenticum'

The origins of this specific genre of documentation, which is particularly well represented in the archives of the military orders throughout the south of France, can be traced back to the early Middle Ages.³³ The first known examples of these

'secondary records' are heavily imbued with monastic culture. The oldest ones, for example the cartulary of the Hospitallers at Gap, sometimes took the form of rolls (*rotulus*). This form was not by chance – it was an obvious reference to a liturgical format used for obituaries and other rolls for the dead. In true memorial spirit, the Hospitaller cartulary from Gap contains records of dozens of acts of joining the order and donations *pro anima* written by different hands and in a very succinct manner; some transfers were only to be carried out at the time of the donor's death (*ad obitum, in fine*).³⁴ However, it was the *codex* form that would eventually carry the day. The earliest example of a *codex* cartulary is that of Richerenches, which was compiled between 1148 and 1150. The few ornamental designs in this manuscript and the quality of its writing clearly recall documents produced by monks and canons. The rhetoric of the charters copied into the cartulary also carries the imprint of the ecclesiastical reforms of the eleventh century. Moreover, unlike later, more succinct charters, these early documents contain full transcriptions of the donation narratives, including descriptions of the ritualized pious acts of the donors, such as laying the donation charter on the altar.³⁵ As will be shown in the following, the Richerenches cartulary is a true *monumentum*, in both the etymological and archival sense of the word.

By comparison, the spirit of the charter registers, which were compiled from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards, is entirely different: these were primarily cartularies from urban commanderies (St Gilles, Trinquetaille, Avignon, Manosque) whose charters had been drawn up by notaries.³⁶ These cartularies are characterized by their faithfulness to the original documents, which is explained by the fact that they needed to confer a status of 'authentic' (*authenticum*) to the acts recorded in them, to use the term employed by Ancien Regime archivists. Yet, even though these manuscripts hardly contain any ornamentation, they were nonetheless documents of prestige and as such were sometimes brought forth and exhibited as proof in legal proceedings.

The military orders' predilection for the cartulary form has considerable consequences in terms of archival conceptions. As diplomaticists remind us, a copy allows the original act to be 're-actualized' and to become part of a "juridical continuum" (using Paul Bertrand's expression).³⁷ Secondary records, therefore, have an obvious memorial dimension while at the same time serving the purpose of protecting an institution's rights. However, a cartulary in no way constitutes an exact inventory of the archives of a commandery at the moment of its compilation. Before they copied them, the brothers sorted through the charters, selecting some and excluding all others that were liable to limit their rights, such as arbitrations that had not been concluded in their favour, or episcopal documents that restricted their spiritual privileges. In many cases, the originals of these 'embarrassing' acts were included in charter collections but not copied into cartularies.³⁸

Yet these cartularies do offer a reliable account of the state of a commandery's goods and rights, and so it is not by chance that the compilation of a cartulary usually happened after its patrimony had been more or less established. Moreover, the cartulary functioned as a classification tool that made it easier to administer the commandery's patrimony. For this reason, the majority of cartularies from the thirteenth

century onwards were essentially collections of acts that had been grouped together by topography, an arrangement that very likely reflected their organization within the charter collection itself. For example, the acts of the cartulary of the Templars of St Gilles are grouped into large sections corresponding to geographical areas in which the brothers had concentrated and organized their possessions. The list of properties therefore enables a sort of 'discursive promenade' from one cluster of possessions to the next. Even more so, the order of classification makes the commandery at St Gilles the symbolic centre of the Templar's *dominium* over the surrounding environment.³⁹ Contributing, as it did, juridically and mentally to the construction of a space radiating out from the commandery, the cartulary became an integral component of the territorialization of their monastic lordship.⁴⁰

The commanderies and their lay neighbours: shared memory

It is well known that the written word constituted a privileged vector of memory shared between monastic communities and their lay entourage.⁴¹ It was no different for the commanderies, because most of the interactions between the brothers and laypeople were formalized in written acts. Material transfers (e.g. sales or donations) were not the only ones which required written proof; joining the order likewise resulted in a contract, and bequests to a commandery, or decisions to be buried there, meant that the community in question would keep a copy of the donor's testament. These individual acts had a memorial value in and of themselves, but when they were re-copied into a cartulary they acquired an additional historiographical dimension because the acts dealing with certain benefactors in particular or their families were generally carefully selected and organized by the copyists.

A representative case is found in the cartulary of Richerenches. Uc de Bourbouton, commander from 1142 to 1151, had ordered the cartulary to be created shortly before his death. Under his impetus, this Templar commandery's foundation became very closely associated with the bequests and affiliations of members of his lineage. In fact, the entire cartulary is organized around familial memory. It gathers together all donations of that lineage into special sections, and it includes two long texts that were veritable narratives about the founding of the commandery.⁴² While illustrating the prestige of the Bourbouton family as founders of Richerenches, the *codex* also served to connect their memory with that of other local families, many of whom were related to the Bourbouts and benefactors to the Templars. Moreover, references to a *liber cartarum* in the cartulary suggest that the manuscript itself was known to laypeople who frequently dealt with the commandery. We should not underestimate the para-liturgical dimension of this kind of text, which guaranteed donors both the stability of their gift and the eternity of the bond established with the Virgin Mary, who was the patron saint of Richerenches. Very likely on certain days the manuscript was removed from the treasury and openly displayed, thus allowing for particular transactions within it to be read out aloud before witnesses. In that sense, the *codex* can be considered as the

material basis for a real 'textual community', as understood by Brian Stock, in that it consisted of the community's members and the local knightly class.⁴³

In some cases, the interaction between the written word and social practices could become even more complex. At Manosque, the Hospital possessed undivided lordship over the town and its inhabitants.⁴⁴ This exceptional situation was the result of several donations made to the Hospitallers between 1149–1168 by the counts Guigue and Bertrand II of Forcalquier, which led to fierce conflict between the commandery and the family of both counts. In 1209, after years of legal battles that even involved imperial and papal authorities, Count Guilhem II of Forcalquier finally confirmed the lordship of Manosque to the Hospitallers and granted them his palace, the symbol of his *dominium*. The conflict, which gave rise to a series of inquests and arbitrations, also forced the Hospitallers of Manosque to reorganise their archives in a way that allowed them to search for and have confirmed any acts illustrating the extent of their rights and possessions, which derived mostly from the counts but also from donations made by members of the urban elites. Counselling by eminent legal men, the Hospitallers compiled specific collections containing all the acts relating to the family of Forcalquier. Serving as proof of the long relationship between the comital family and the order, these acts were copied into the cartulary of the Priory at St Gilles as well as into a small cartulary-folder specifically intended to be brought before Pope Innocent IV. In the process of handling and preserving these early acts, the Hospital became the repository of the memory of the counts of Forcalquier, whose dynasty died out with Guilhem II in 1209 when the county of Forcalquier was absorbed into the county of Provence by Count Raimond Berenger V. Thus, not only did the Hospital preserve a great part of the archives of the counts of Forcalquier; it also continued the memory of Guilhem II and his lineage in the chapel of St Pierre, the symbolic centre of the order's hold over the territory of Manosque.

Similar kinds of organizational arrangements can be found in all other cartularies retracing the (sometimes tumultuous) relations between aristocratic families and the military orders. Templar and Hospitaller commanderies also inherited original acts from laypeople that probably would not have survived if they had not been incorporated into the orders' archives. The charter collection of the Templars of Avignon contains around twenty charters pertaining to Joan (1188–1239) and Peire (1223–1272) de Milicia, two knights who had been deeply involved in the affairs of the local Templar commandery of Avignon.⁴⁵ These private acts were preserved as *munimina*, that is to say, as proofs of ownership, rendered necessary when Peire de Milicia decided to give his entire possessions to the Templars.⁴⁶ The function of property transactions as 'social glue' goes a long way towards explaining the survival of most medieval documents, among which we also find numerous disputes.

Recording conflicts in writing

Charter collections and cartularies are filled with references to conflicts between the Templars or Hospitallers on the one hand and lay property holders or members of the secular clergy on the other. Disputes with laypeople centred almost

exclusively on questions of landed possessions. Conflicts with members of the secular clergy usually resulted from competition over revenues from the ecclesial economy (bequests, burials, tithes, collections, etc.).⁴⁷ Although the sources can give the impression that conflicts proliferated, the goal was always to reach a resolution that was acceptable to all parties. Instead of insisting on their conflictual nature, recent historiography on gifts and disputes has underlined their social role, pointing out that disputes may have ultimately strengthened existing bonds between ecclesiastical institutions and their lay neighbours.⁴⁸

In Provence, conflicts involving the commanderies called on arbiters who could represent both parties or serve as mediators considered to be neutral, but who were almost always counselled by legal experts.⁴⁹ Comparing the notices of trials (*plaid*) from the twelfth century with the arbitrations of the following century, we can clearly see the progress of juridical knowledge. The resolutions that were written down in the *Richerences* cartulary limit themselves to brief juridical trappings, in which the compromise between the parties (*convenientia*, *querimonia*) dominates the text. Little by little, the jurists employed by the military orders introduced proper arbitrations (*compositiones*) based on the juxtaposition of both parties' arguments and presenting elements of proof. Written proof was what counted, which is why the brothers of the orders took care that their charters were copied into cartularies or other secondary records authenticated by notaries (as *vidimus*). However, historians of the Early Middle Ages have reminded us that a charter's value is not only limited to its textual content; one also has to consider its material characteristics, which sometimes could take on quasi-sacred dimensions.⁵⁰ This symbolic use of the written object was still evident at the time of the military orders. For example, the reconciliation between Count Guilhem II of Forcalquier and the Hospitallers of Manosque obeys a kind of script in which the actual donation charter played a performative role. On 17 March 1207, the count convened an assembly of barons and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the *camera* of his new palace. He then had his notary read out the long charter listing all his generous deeds towards the Hospital. This act of publicly reading out the charter marked the end of a half century of conflict between the count and the Hospital and thus contributed to resolving an affair that had affected the comital family, the Hospitallers and all the important lay and ecclesiastic elites present at the occasion.⁵¹ To the eyes of the actors present, the original charter, which was later re-vitalized and re-actualized through multiple copies, must have appeared as material testimony to the reconciliation between the two parties.

Nevertheless, even in a region steeped in written law such as Provence, the spoken word (*vox viva*) of witnesses still was often valued more than the dead voice (*vox mortua*) of the written text.⁵² Judgements, therefore, were preferably based on witness testimony, as requested by the arbiters or even by the parties themselves. This does not necessarily mean, however, that contemporaries' confidence in oral testimonies in any way diminished the legitimacy of the written word. On the contrary: the frequent recording of depositions ratified their status as legal evidence and reinforced the authority of the judgement. Consequently, all disputes gave rise to the production of written acts, of which each party received a copy.⁵³

Like the Hospitallers at Trinquetaille, the members of the military orders usually took care to record in their cartularies those arbitrations in which they appeared as winning party.⁵⁴ The Hospitallers of Trinquetaille also re-transcribed the various papal bulls that confirmed their legal position vis-à-vis the archbishop and chapter of Arles.⁵⁵ In contrast, the Hospitallers and the Templars abstained from preserving *compositiones* that limited their spiritual privileges – these acts are found in the cartularies pertaining to bishops and their chapters.⁵⁶

Recording depositions: inquests and recognitions of emphyteutic leases

Especially during the thirteenth century, different kinds of conflicts drew the military orders into opposition with various communities and above all with the Angevin monarchy. These disputes centred on the orders' exercise of certain lordly and legal powers, which were contested by inhabitants or royal agents.⁵⁷ These challenges also had strongly territorial components in that they often concerned the boundaries within which economic rights, and above all the commanderies' lordship, were exercised. Confronted with an increasingly complex bureaucracy, the orders needed to stay informed about the legal mechanisms at work within the Angevin administration. Counselling by *procuratores* and other men educated in law (*legum doctores*), the brothers were able to appeal to the higher courts of the county of Provence, such as the seneschal or the royal judge at Aix, if problems arose with local agents (*viguiers*, judges). Disputes carried out at this level were resolved by means of inquests: people under the commanderies' jurisdiction were summoned and questioned on the points at issue. Before the introduction of paper registers, the dispositions were collected by a judge, organized by articles, and systematically recorded on rolls of parchment. At the end of the proceedings, the inquiry and the judgement were placed *in forma publica* by a notary, and because of this, they acquired the status of proof. For example, in January 1275, during a dispute with the community at Arles over the usage of a pasture in the Camargue, the commander of the Temple at Arles presented an earlier inquest from December 1274 to support his position.⁵⁸ Technically, the investigation procedure revolved around *fama* and in particular the deposition – it was the word of the person questioned, often guided by the judge's questioning, that served as proof.⁵⁹

In the seigneuries of the Temple in the lower Rhone valley, people were questioned about the exercise of justice (*mixtum et merum imperium*): they described the corporal punishments and fines that the judges of the Temple inflicted on wrongdoers, the instruments of lordly repression (such as the gibbet and the pillory) and the territorial limits within which the Order exercised its collective power. When the boundaries of lordships and their jurisdictions were challenged, the inquest also included a survey of the land itself, which resulted in the placement of boundary markers.⁶⁰ Several recent studies on the *inquisitio* in Provence have shown how the recording of witness testimony in writing helped describe and perpetuate domination.⁶¹ In fact, the written word served to confirm the establishment of customs and also clearly reinforced hierarchical relationships. Of course,

the military orders did not always come out of these inquests as the complete winners in their confrontations with royal power. Yet, ultimately, these inquests allowed them to establish and strengthen their power both over the inhabitants and the territories under their lordship.

Another kind of written testimony developed in the thirteenth century was that of recognizing lease holdings in emphyteusis, in which tenants declared not only the possessions they held in lease but also the obligations (*cens*, services) associated with them. Templars and Hospitallers regularly asked their tenants for written proof of these acts, which they carefully preserved, which is why such an abundance of these recognitions have survived in the archives. For example, the charter collection of the Templars at Montfrin contains 150 documents, including 44 on parchment, with recognitions of possessions dating to the period 1201–1301.⁶² Some of them are charters containing between one and three recognitions; others, however, take the form of rolls with lists of ten to twenty declarations, all of them following identical formats and relating to the same holdings. Following a summons by the lord through the town crier, the tenants presented themselves, alone or in groups, to declare their holdings before witnesses, and these declarations were recorded by a notary. These declarations and their written record were, therefore, a ritual form of submission to lordly power. This was part of a strict legal procedure that involved both Roman law and customary law.⁶³ Elements of the *inquisitio* feature heavily in these recognitions addressed to the orders, which borrow from the formulae required for witness depositions: “I swear to tell the truth” (*juratus de veritate dicendi*).⁶⁴ The same interaction between written and oral that we have observed for the *inquisitio* is again evident, because it was the act of putting oral transactions down in writing that provided legal proof of seigneurial power.⁶⁵ In terms of ‘practical culture’, the recognitions written down by the military orders constituted part of a new kind of administrative organization. The listing of tenants allowed the orders to create inventories of *cens* and goods (*terriers*, *censiers*) which, subjected to the new bookkeeping practices of the time, enabled the orders to better calculate future expenses for and revenues from their domains.⁶⁶ This leads me, finally, to consider briefly the written profile that characterized the military orders in Provence starting from the mid-thirteenth century.

Archival memory and institutionalism

As the institutionalization of any regular religious community happened through writing, each religious house produced and preserved a panorama of documents characteristic of its way of life, its normative profile, and its economic choices. In other words, the archives of a Cistercian monastery do not resemble those of a Mendicant convent, which in turn would have preserved categories of documents that are not necessarily found in the document collections of military order commanderies.⁶⁷ The purpose here is not to present a typology of document collections in Provençal commanderies but instead, by using the Hospital as an example, to show which role certain documents played in the process of institutionalization.

At the centre of this process are the statutes that were added to the rule and the reports of the chapter meetings of the Priory at St Gilles, which have survived in large number from the fourteenth and, above all, the fifteenth century.⁶⁸ Some of these normative texts are now available in print,⁶⁹ and in them one can note a slight breakthrough of the *Langue d'Oc* (although a thorough study of these texts remains a *desideratum*). The present study however focuses on written acts of practice, because these normative texts also played a fundamental role in the creation and the preservation of institutional memory.

This creation of memory can be seen in a real concern for the preservation of the archives. It should be remembered that from very early on, some of the brothers in the orders were scribes, and that some commanders probably also knew how to write. Progressively, the administrative hierarchy of commanderies expanded, and in this process specialized offices were created. Officers responsible for management and finance (*thesaurarius*, *claverius*, *bailulus*) are attested quite early.⁷⁰ These officers worked with a certain number of texts of practice (accounts, receipts, inventories) and were also often in charge of the archives. Most likely, over time these archives slowly became distinct from the liturgical treasuries kept in the chapels. For example, in 1308 the chapel of the Templars at Arles contained only sacerdotal ornaments and liturgical books; books for management (*cartularii*) were kept in the bedrooms of the treasurer and the commander, while the privileges and other muniments (*instrumenta privilegia et alia munimenta*) were kept in chests in the treasury (*thesauraria*).⁷¹ We find the same specialization at Manosque, where, from the thirteenth century onwards seigniorial archives were kept in the treasury of the Hospitallers' palace, while legal registers remained in the building reserved for audiences (*domus curie*). Although the collections from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show that some logic of classification existed, which is still poorly understood, it was not until the early fifteenth century that Hospitaller archivists went to the trouble of drawing up inventories and attributing classification numbers to documents.⁷²

Some genres of documents are themselves reflections of two levels of the Hospital's administrative organization: that of the commandery and that of the province. At St Gilles, from the 1160s the commandery's administration was distinct from that of the Priory, and this determined the progressive creation of two separate archive collections. Thus, the *Authentique de Saint-Gilles*, created between 1206 and 1211, began as the cartulary of the commandery. A specific section at the end of the register groups together important texts taken from the archives of the Priory, however, including the foundation acts of several commanderies – St Maurice de Cazevieille, Avignon, St Michel de Puimoisson, and Manosque – as well as privileges granted by the counts of Toulouse, the Emperor, and the counts of Forcalquier and Provence.⁷³ The cartulary paints the image of a centralized organization, which draws its strength from its holdings in the region of St Gilles. It also illustrates the creation of a network of commanderies and, finally, documents the donations and protections granted to the Hospitallers by various princely powers. The cartulary contains no copies of papal privileges. This suggests that the strategy behind its composition was different from that employed by the neighbouring

Benedictine Abbey of St Gilles, which since the 1130s had maintained a *Bullaria* as evidence of its close ties with the Holy See to counter claims by the counts of Toulouse.⁷⁴ It is clear that although it was an instrument for managing both patrimony and memory, a cartulary also reflected institutional and political choices.

Other kinds of documents are equally rich in functional and symbolical value. Account books, like the ones kept at the Hospitaller commandery of Mansoque, were first and foremost management tools for the brothers in charge of administration.⁷⁵ More than simply trying to crunch the numbers and calculate ‘profits’⁷⁶ – a highly debated notion when it concerns the medieval economy – they served to keep track of transactions and different flows of exchange. Preserved in them is the memory of the extent of the Hospitallers patrimony and the order’s lordship rights, recorded in the guise of rents paid and taxes levied on economic transactions and certain groups of people, for example Jews. As such, they constitute another tool for implementing and executing Hospitaller lordship over Manosque.

Account books were guarantors for good management. They also functioned as tools for control, in that they helped maintain discipline within the institution. Probably since the second half of the twelfth century, each brother at Manosque in charge of part of the domain’s revenues (palace, animals, mills, storehouses) was under obligation to submit weekly accounts to the commander each Sunday. Every year the commander personally had to present the *status baiulie* (that is, the entire yearly account statement of his management) to all brothers of the house, before having it checked by the provincial chapter. Verifying the accounts at multiple levels allowed Hospitallers to limit misappropriation of funds. It also enabled them to monitor expenses, including the brothers’ travels, as even the smallest costs were recorded.⁷⁷

However, the primary goal here was not to balance the accounts. I would argue that the main purpose of all these procedures was rather to reinforce hierarchical relations, both within the Priory and within each community. Moreover, from the end of the thirteenth century onwards, there are many similarities between the accounts and the written reports of visitations. During the last third of the thirteenth century, a system of regular visitations of commanderies in the Priory of St Gilles by the prior or his lieutenant was implemented,⁷⁸ as is suggested by isolated reports of visitations dating from 1253 and 1257 that were copied into the treasurer’s account registers.⁷⁹ From the fourteenth century onwards, reports of visitations became standardized, thus showing that the visitation itself had become something of a ritual that reinforced hierarchical organization and followed certain norms: bound by oath and “by virtue of holy obedience,” each brother was questioned about the management of the commandery and the discipline of regular life. Lay-people in the commandery’s entourage (the *familia* and local elites) were also questioned.⁸⁰ In a permanent spirit of reform, visitation was supposed to reveal problems or tensions that might be affecting the community.⁸¹ From a procedural point of view, the visitation was an *inquisitio*, an investigation, founded on written depositions of Hospitaller brothers and non-Hospitaller witnesses. Again, this reveals the ways in which the recording of this procedure consolidated institutional

mechanisms and enabled the Hospitallers to utilize what can be described as a 'discourse of authority' for their benefit.

It would be shortsighted to regard the military orders simply as a result of the crusades or an attempt at 'monasticising' lay knighthood. Their birth and development were closely contemporary with urban growth and were concomitant with a cultural revolution that placed the written text at the centre of social relationships and governmental and administrative processes. Donations, bequests, choosing to be buried, entry into the Order, property leases, conflicts – almost all interactions between the military orders and their social environment resulted in the production of a written document. The charters recording these transactions and processes, which have survived by the hundreds and in which the military orders' hold over local societies is clearly revealed, were not only preserved by the commanderies and their partners. They were also recopied, re-organized into cartularies, and sometimes shown and read out in public. In addition to being used as legal tools to defend the rights and patrimonies of military order commanderies, charters became the foundation of a common memory shared by the commanderies' communities and the faithful. Written documents cemented goodwill between religious and laypeople and, as such, were useful instruments in the procedure for resolving conflict when that friendship had broken down.⁸² The rediscovery of Roman law in combination with the formalization of feudal customs placed literacy more fully at the heart of the governmental and administrative processes of power. As has been seen, the Templars and Hospitallers were able to strengthen and legitimize their seigneurial authority through multiple procedures based on written testimony (which were ritualized to varying degrees), all while managing to consolidate their territorial and economic hold over the region.

By the thirteenth century, princely governments such as the Angevins of Naples-Provence had fully arrived in the bureaucratic age, and written communication constituted the focal point of episcopal and municipal administration. The Templars and Hospitallers did not remain unaffected by this revolution, which was both intellectual and administrative. Although the proliferation of documents in Europe has enabled research into the military orders' administrative and financial culture on the eve of the early modern era, our understanding of its consequences in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries remains incomplete.⁸³ The example of Manosque suggests that the administrative techniques used by the Hospitallers were the result of increasing specialization. At the level of the Priory of St Gilles, one can get a sense of the complexity of the institutional mechanisms in place, which allowed for the reproduction of central convent governmental and administrative procedures at the provincial level. The documents that newly appear in the thirteenth century (such as account books and visitation records) are not merely evidence of the commanderies' efforts to improve economic and administrative efficiency. The procedures manifested in these documents helped the brothers to set a norm; they guaranteed that discipline was followed and reinforced hierarchical relationships. In this sense, practical literacy became an integral part of the construction of the identity of Hospitaller and Templar communities.

In this chapter, I have mentioned certain documents that can be considered emblematic of the Provençal collections of both Orders. That this is possible is due to not only their ‘good fortune’ of escaping the destruction caused by ‘accidents of history’ such as the Wars of Religion or the French Revolution, which caused so many other archives of the orders to go up in flames.⁸⁴ Unlike the thousands of other documents (letters, receipts, *comenda* and loan contracts, management registers and documents of management procedures) that have been lost, these documents have come down to us because the Templars and the Hospitallers gave particular attention to their preservation. And these ‘authentic’ cartularies, charters, and papers were not only preserved, but also deciphered by the archivists of the Order of Malta on the eve of the French Revolution precisely because they were still integral to secular memory. *Segnoria, memoria, controversia*: by keeping track of these old medieval notions, the Knights of Malta were able to hold on to their seignorial privileges and nobility during the Ancien Regime.

Notes

- 1 B. Bedos-Rezak, ‘Diplomatic Sources and Medieval Documentary Practices: an Essay in Interpretative Methodology’, in *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies*, ed. J. Van Engen (Notre Dame-London, 1994), pp. 313–43, here at p. 333.
- 2 The term ‘sources’ itself merits further reflection. See J. Morsel, ‘Les sources sont-elles le “pain de l’historien” ?’, *Hypothèses* (2003), 273–86.
- 3 The references cited in the notes privilege works in French. One of the purposes of this chapter is to offer an overview of French historiography on writing practices, although it is evident that French historians have greatly benefitted from ideas first developed by historians from the English-speaking world, Italy and Germany. For the reception of these studies in France see P. Chastang, ‘Cartulaires, cartularisation et scripturalité médiévale: la structuration d’un nouveau champ de recherche’, *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale*, 49 (2006), 21–6. On the notion of *scripturalité* see J. Morsel, ‘Ce qu’écriture veut dire au Moyen Âge. Observations préliminaires à une étude de la scripturalité médiévale’, *Memini. Travaux et documents de la Société des études médiévales du Québec*, 4 (2000), 3–43.
- 4 R. Britnell, ‘Pragmatic Literacy in Latin Christendom’, in *Pragmatic literacy, East and West, 1200–1330*, ed. R. Britnell (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 3–24; *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter: Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*, ed. H. Keller, K. Grubmüller and N. Staubach (Munich, 1992); F. Menant, ‘Les transformations de l’écrit documentaire entre le XII^e et le XIII^e siècle’, in *Écrire, compter, mesurer. Vers une histoire des rationalités pratiques*, ed. N. Coquery, F. Menant and F. Weber (Paris, 2006), pp. 33–50.
- 5 *Schriftlichkeit und Lebenspraxis im Mittelalter: erfassen, bewahren, verändern*, ed. H. Keller, C. Meier and T. Scharff (Munich, 1999).
- 6 J.-C. Maire-Vigueur, ‘Révolution documentaire et révolution scripturaire: le cas de l’Italie médiévale’, *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes*, 153 (1995), 177–85; P. Bertrand, ‘À propos de la révolution de l’écrit (X^e–XIII^e siècle). Considérations inactuelles’, in *Pratiques de l’écrit (VI^e–XIII^e siècle), Médiévales*, 56 (2009), 75–92, here at p. 77.
- 7 D. Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania (1100–1300)* (Woodbridge, 1999). This work is very general and contains a number of errors, see D. Carraz, ‘Templiers et Hospitaliers en France méridionale (XII^e–XIII^e siècles). À propos d’un ouvrage récent’, *Provence historique*, 50 (2000), 207–37.

- 8 The reasons why medieval archives were preserved and recopied by the archivists and jurists of the Ancien Régime are themselves now a subject of study. The case of Cluny, for example, is examined in S. Barret, *La mémoire et l'écrit: l'abbaye de Cluny et ses archives (X^e-XVIII^e siècle)* (Münster, 2004). The magnificent document collections inherited from the Order of Malta, which are today preserved in the departmental archives of the Bouches-du-Rhône and the Haute-Garonne, are awaiting a comparable study. For the Crown of Aragon, and especially the ways in which the documents of the Templars were preserved by the Hospitallers and the monarchy, see A. Forey, 'Sources for the History of the Templars in Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia', *Archives*, 21 (1994), 17–24.
- 9 The chronological development, the typology, and the transmission of Provençal sources have been retraced in M. Aurell, *Actes de la famille Porcelet d'Arles (972–1320)* (Paris, 2001), pp. xii–xxxv.
- 10 For example, the cartularies of the military orders have served as the main sources for a close reading of inheritance practices of local southern elites, C. Johnson, *La face cachée du modèle: pratiques et stratégies familiales en Languedoc au XII^e siècle* (thèse de doctorat, Université de Toulouse, 2006). Charters of the military orders also account for 22 per cent of all extant acts related to the knightly family of Porcelet. See Aurell, *Actes*, pp. xxvii–xxviii.
- 11 R. Aubenas, *Étude sur le notariat provençal au Moyen Âge et sous l'Ancien Régime* (Aix-en-Provence, 1931).
- 12 The impact of the monarchy's administrative practices on the military orders in Provence still awaits analysis. Some suggestions for future research are given in D. Carraz and K. Borchardt, 'Présentation générale', in *Édition des comptes hebdomadaires de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, ed. K. Borchardt, D. Carraz and A. Venturini (Paris, 2015).
- 13 A. Guerreau, *Le féodalisme. Un horizon théorique* (Paris, 1979), pp. 197–210. The charters from the Provençal commanderies associate "dominium et segnoría", "jus et dominium", and "dominium et dominationem".
- 14 On the effectiveness of the performative aspects of the written word, as analysed by historians influenced by anthropologists, see Morsel, 'Ce qu'écire veut dire', pp. 10–21.
- 15 See, for example, in the cartulary of the Temple at St Gilles, Archives municipales d'Arles, GG 90, fol. 67r–v, 132v–133r, 202r–v, 206v–208r, etc.
- 16 M. Lauwers, 'Memoria. À propos d'un objet d'histoire en Allemagne', in *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du Moyen Âge en France et en Allemagne*, ed. J.-C. Schmitt and O.-G. Oexle (Paris, 2003), pp. 105–26.
- 17 For the reception of these studies in France, see S. D. White, 'From Peace to Power: The Study of Disputes in Medieval France' (2001), reprinted in S. D. White, *Feuding and Peace-Making in Eleventh-Century France* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2005), n. VIII.
- 18 See for example (for the Hospital) J. Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 65–74 and 151–66.
- 19 I believe that the study of the military orders can benefit greatly from paying close attention to recent research carried out in Germany on the concept of 'institutionalisation' (*Institutionalisierung*) and on the institutional structures of the religious orders, for which see G. Melville, 'Nuove tendenze della storiografia monastica di area tedesca. Le ricerche di Dresda sulle strutture istituzionale degli ordini religiosi medievali', in *Dove va la storiografia monastica in Europa? Temi e metodi di ricerca per lo studio della vita monastica e regolare in età medievale alle soglie del terzo millennio*, ed. G. Andenna (Milan, 2001), pp. 35–51. Especially relevant for the perspective developed in this chapter are G. Melville, 'Zur Funktion der Schriftlichkeit im institutionellen Gefüge mittelalterlicher Orden', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 25 (1991), 391–417, and S. Barret, 'L'institutionnalisation de la mémoire: les archives ecclésiastiques', in *Pensiero e*

- sperimentazioni istituzionali nella Societas christiana, 1046–1250*, ed. G. Andenna (Milan, 2007), pp. 463–85.
- 20 Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4382; P. Guillaume, 'Rôle des donations faites à l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem et à la commanderie de Saint-Martin de Gap', *Bulletin d'histoire ecclésiastique et d'archéologie religieuse des diocèses de Valence, Gap, Grenoble et Viviers*, I (1881), 177–93, n. 9, 12, 19, 22, 28; D. Carraz, 'Mémoire lignagère et archives monastiques: les Bourbouton et la commanderie de Richerenches', in *Convaincre et persuader: communication et propagande aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, ed. M. Aurell (Poitiers, 2007), pp. 480–83.
 - 21 Guillaume, 'Rôle des donations', n. 13, 19, 22; Carraz, 'Mémoire', pp. 472–73.
 - 22 In addition to the prior of the convent, who was probably educated, evidence exists for a brother-priest by the name of Johannes *Scriptor* (recorded for 1186–1204) and for another scribe serving in the household of the prior. See *Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1129–1210)*, ed. D. Le Blévec and A. Venturini (Turnhout and Paris, 1997), *ad indicem*: "Seguinus, prior ecclesie", "Raimundus de Alignano, prior ecclesie", "Johannes Scriptor", "Durantus, scriptor prioris", "Guillelmus Jacobus, clericus prioris qui hoc scripsit" (1168).
 - 23 S. Gomes, 'Observações em torno da chancelaria da Ordem do Templo em Portugal', in *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente*. Actas do V Encontro sobre Ordens Militares, Palmela, 15 a 18 de fevereiro de 2006, ed. I. C. Ferreira Fernandes (Palmela, 2009), pp. 121–39.
 - 24 D. Carraz, *Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales. L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124–1312)* (thèse de doctorat, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, 2003), vol. 3, *Sources*: Chartes de la maison de Saint-Gilles, *ad indicem*, p. 706; Chartes de la maison d'Arles, *ad indicem*, p. 273; *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, ed. P.-A. Amargier (Aix-en-Provence, 1972), *ad indicem*. On the notary Vincentius: M.-L. Carlin, 'Recherches sur l'apparition du notariat public dans la Provence méridionale', *Bulletin philologique et historique du CTHS, année 1965* (Paris, 1968), 514–15.
 - 25 D. Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124–1312). Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales* (Lyon, 2005), pp. 370–73.
 - 26 L. Macé, 'Le prince et l'expert: les juristes à la cour rhodanienne du comte Raymond V de Toulouse (1149–1194)', *Annales du Midi*, 123 (2011), 513–31.
 - 27 L. Verdon, 'Les acaptes consenties aux ordres militaires dans les terres du Bas-Rhône aux XII^e-XIII^e siècles. Un enjeu politique et économique', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome-Moyen Âge*, 113/1 (2001), 411–32.
 - 28 Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 373–374. On the dissemination of Roman law in acts of practice, see M.-L. Carlin, *La pénétration du droit romain dans les actes de la pratique provençale (XI^e-XIII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1967).
 - 29 Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, p. 372.
 - 30 Conscious of the importance of education in moving up the social ladder, the knightly class in Provence furnished a good part of the graduates in law; see G. Giordanengo, 'Qualitas illata per principatum tenentem. Droit nobiliaire en Provence angevine (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)', in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. N. Coulet and J.-M. Matz (Rome, 2000), pp. 285–87.
 - 31 Arch. dép. Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 835, 56 H 2624 and 56 H 2625.
 - 32 D. Carraz, 'L'emprise économique d'une commanderie urbaine: l'ordre du Temple à Arles en 1308', in *L'économie templière en Occident: patrimoines, commerce, finances*, ed. A. Baudin, G. Brunel and N. Dohrmann (Troyes, 2013), pp. 154–55; *Édition des comptes hebdomadaires, ad indicem*: "nuntius".
 - 33 D. Le Blévec and A. Venturini, 'Cartulaires des ordres militaires. XII^e-XIII^e siècles (Provence occidentale-Basse vallée du Rhône)', in *Les Cartulaires*, ed. O. Guyotjeanin, L. Morelle and M. Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 451–66. The way in which scholars approach cartularies has changed profoundly since the 1990s. For an assessment see Chastang, 'Cartulaires', 21–32.

- 34 Guillaume, 'Rôle des donations', pp 185–9, n. 31–7, 42–9, 52–4 and 57–62. The roll of the Temple of Vaulx in the Dauphiné is a collection of notices that had been transcribed on both sides of the parchment between 1170 and 1223. See *Cartulaire du Temple de Vaulx*, ed. R. Delachenal (Paris, 1897).
- 35 Carraz, 'Mémoire', 471–83.
- 36 Le Blévec and Venturini, 'Cartulaires', pp. 453–4; D. Carraz, 'Le cartulaire du Temple de Saint-Gilles, outil de gestion et instrument de pouvoir', in *Les cartulaires méridionaux*, ed. D. Le Blévec (Paris, 2006), pp. 156–7.
- 37 Bertrand, 'À propos', p. 80. No 'original' act remains fixed in its primitive state, of course; rather, over time it might be transformed through all sorts of processes of copying. See L. Morelle, 'Instrumentation et travail de l'acte: quelques réflexions sur l'écrit diplomatique en milieu monastique au XI^e siècle', *Pratiques de l'écrit (VI^e-XIII^e siècle), Médiévales*, 56 (2009), 63–5.
- 38 For example, Carraz, 'Le cartulaire', pp. 154–5.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 151–3.
- 40 D. Carraz, 'La territorialisation de la seigneurie monastique: les commanderies provençales du Temple (XII^e-XIII^e siècle)', *Les pouvoirs territoriaux en Italie centrale et dans le Sud de la France. Hiérarchies, institutions et langages (XII^e-XIV^e siècles): études comparées, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome-Moyen Âge*, 123/2 (2011), 445–8.
- 41 Morelle, 'Instrumentation', 53.
- 42 On the codicological aspects of the manuscript and the interactions that come into play between writing and orality, see Carraz, 'Mémoire', pp. 471–9.
- 43 B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), p. 522.
- 44 D. Carraz, 'Aux origines de la commanderie de Manosque. Le dossier des comtes de Forcalquier dans les archives de l'Hôpital (début XII^e-milieu XIII^e siècle)', in *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. M. Olivier and P. Josserand (Münster, 2012), pp. 137–77.
- 45 Carraz, *Ordres militaires*, vol. 3, *Sources*: Chartes de la maison d'Avignon, pp. 318–407, n. 07, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 31, 34, 36, 39, 52, 53, 55, 56; Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 405–6 and 555–6.
- 46 Private acts often appear in cartularies in this capacity. For example, acts by laypeople make up between 6 and 15 per cent of the total number of charters copied in secondary records of the military orders in Provence, Le Blévec and Venturini, 'Cartulaires', p. 456.
- 47 D. Carraz, 'Églises et cimetières des ordres militaires. Contrôle des lieux sacrés et dominium ecclésiastique en Provence (XII^e-XIII^e siècle)', in *Lieux sacrés et espace ecclésial (IX^e-XIV^e siècle)*. Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 46 (Toulouse, 2011), pp. 293–9.
- 48 See for example B. H. Rosenwein, T. Head and S. Farmer, 'Monks and Their Enemies: A Comparative Approach', *Speculum*, 66 (1991), 764–96. This anthropological approach has raised a number of objections. See for example B. Lemesle, 'Les querelles avaient-elles une vocation sociale? Le cas des transferts fonciers en Anjou au XI^e siècle', *Le Moyen Âge*, 115 (2009), 337–64, where it is argued that by focusing too strongly on their 'social' aspect we run the risk of ignoring that these transfers of property did have economic and juridical purposes.
- 49 Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 377–83; G. Veyssière, 'Le règlement des conflits d'après le cartulaire de Trinquetaille', in *Le règlement des conflits au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2001), pp. 201–20.
- 50 L. Morelle, 'Les chartes dans la gestion des conflits (France du Nord, XI^e-début XII^e siècle)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 155–1 (1997), 286–90.
- 51 Carraz, 'Aux origines', pp. 150–2.
- 52 Johnson, *La face cachée*, pp. 161–3.
- 53 Many dispute resolutions were preserved as chirographs, see for example Carraz, *Ordres militaires*, vol. 3, *Sources*: Chartes de la maison d'Arles, pp. 61–278, n. 035, 061, 066, etc.

- 54 Veyssi re, 'Le r glement', p. 203.
- 55 *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, p. 299, n. 296; p. 314–15, n. 309; p. 311, n. 307.
- 56 Carraz, *Ordres militaires*, vol. 3, *Sources*: Chartes de la maison d'Arles, n. 014 bis and 066; Chartes de la maison de Saint-Gilles, pp. 477–714, n. 424 and 478.
- 57 Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 383–93.
- 58 Carraz, *Ordres militaires*, vol. 3, *Sources*: Chartes de la maison d'Arles, n. 149.
- 59 J. Chiffolleau, 'Avouer l'inavouable: l'aveu et la proc dure inquisitoire   la fin du Moyen  ge', in *L'aveu. Histoire, sociologie, philosophie*, ed. R. Dulong (Paris, 2001), pp. 57–97.
- 60 Carraz, *Ordres militaires*, vol. 3, *Sources*: Chartes de la maison de Tarascon, pp. 279–400, n. 12 (January–February 1266).
- 61 This is one of the main arguments in L. Verdon, *La Voix des domin s. Communaut s et seigneurie en Provence au bas Moyen  ge* (Rennes, 2012), in particular, pp. 12–19 and 39–50.
- 62 Carraz, 'La territorialisation', pp. 453–4.
- 63 On the deposition in customary law, see M. Grinberg, * crire les coutumes. Les droits seigneuriaux en France* (Paris, 2006), pp. 10–12 and 137–8.
- 64 Carraz, *Ordres militaires*, vol. 3, *Sources*: Chartes de la maison de Montfrin, pp. 408–76, n. 115 and 116.
- 65 T. P c ut, 'Confessus fuit et recognovit in veritate se tenere. L'aveu et ses enjeux dans les reconnaissances de tenanciers en Provence, XIII^e–XIV^e si cle', in *Qu te de soi et qu te de v rit  du Moyen  ge   l' poque moderne*, ed. L. Faggion and L. Verdon (Aix-en-Provence, 2007), pp. 173–205; Verdon, *La Voix*, p. 163.
- 66 Carraz and Borchardt, 'Pr sentation'; and more broadly: P. Bertrand, 'Jeux d' critures: censiers, comptabilit s, quittances. . . (France du Nord, XIII^e–XIV^e si cles)', in *D crire, inventorier, enregistrer entre Seine et Rhin au Moyen  ge. Formes, fonctions et usages des  crits de gestion*, ed. X. Hermand, J.-F. Nieus and  . Renard (Paris, 2012), pp. 165–95.
- 67 F. Cygler, G. Melville and J. Oberste, 'Aspekte zur Verbindung von Organisation und Schriftlichkeit im Ordenswesen. Ein Vergleich zwischen den Cisterziensern und Cluniazensern im 12./13. Jahrhundert', in *Viva vox und ratio scripta. M ndliche und schriftliche Kommunikationsformen im M nchtum des Mittelalters*, ed. C. M. Kasper and K. Schreiner (M nster, 1997), pp. 205–80; A. B. Langeli and N. D'Acunto, 'I documenti degli ordini mendicanti', in *Libro, scrittura, documento della civilt  monastica e conventuale nel basso medioevo (secoli XIII–XV)*, ed. G. Avarucci, R. M. Borraccini Verducci and G. Borri (Spoleto, 1999), pp. 381–415.
- 68  . Baratier and M. Villard, *R pertoire de la s rie H. 56 H: Grand Prieur  de Saint-Gilles des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de J rusalem* (Marseille, 1966), pp. xiv and 4–5.
- 69 *Les statuts de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de J rusalem.  dition critique des manuscrits en occitan (XIV^e si cle)*, ed. M.-R. Bonnet and R. Cierbide (Bilbao, 2006).
- 70 Carraz and Borchardt, 'Pr sentation'.
- 71 Carraz, 'L'emprise  conomique', pp. 154–9 and 173–5.
- 72 *Cartulaire et chartes de la commanderie de l'H pital de Saint-Jean de J rusalem d'Avignon au temps de la Commune (1170–1250)*, ed. C.-F. Hollard (Paris, 2001), pp. 18–19.
- 73 Carraz, 'Aux origines', pp. 156–7.
- 74 F. Mazel, 'Lieu sacr , aire de paix et seigneurie autour de l'abbaye de Saint-Gilles (fin IX^e–d but XIII^e si cle)', in *Lieux sacr s et espace eccl sial*, pp. 229–76. The military orders in the south of France preserved a great number of pontifical bulls, but primarily in the original form, which suggests a specific relationship with privileges obtained from the apostolic chancellery. See Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 147–9.
- 75 Carraz and Borchardt, 'Pr sentation'.
- 76 G. Todeschini, 'Mercato medievale e razionalit  economica moderna', *Reti Medievali Rivista*, vii/2 (2006) [www.retimedievali.it], especially p. 3.

- 77 A. Venturini, 'Un compte de voyage par voie de terre de Manosque à Gênes en 1251', *Les Hospitaliers du XI^e au XVI^e siècle, Provence historique*, 45 (1995), 25–48; D. Carraz and K. Borchardt, 'Les pratiques comptables de l'ordre de l'Hôpital en Provence. Le cas de la commanderie de Manosque (années 1260–1350)', in *De l'autel à l'écritoire. Aux origines des comptabilités princières en Occident (XI^e-XV^e siècle)*, ed. T. Pécout (Paris, 2016), pp. 75–109.
- 78 Jean Raybaud († 1752), *Histoire des Grands Prieurs et du Grand Prieuré de Saint-Gilles*, ed. C. Nicolas, 2 vols (Nîmes, 1904), I, pp. 156 and 173.
- 79 Arch. dép. Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 2624, fol. 1v-4r and 56 H 2625.
- 80 D. Carraz, 'Les enquêtes générales de la papauté sur l'ordre de l'Hôpital (1338 et 1373). Analyse comparée dans le prieuré de Provence', in *Quand gouverner c'est enquêter. Les pratiques politiques de l'enquête princière (Occident, XIII^e-XIV^e siècles)*, ed. T. Pécout (Paris, 2010), pp. 524–5.
- 81 N. Coulet, 'La vie quotidienne dans les commanderies du prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l'ordre de l'Hôpital d'après l'enquête pontificale de 1373', in *La Commanderie, institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. A. Luttrell and L. Pressouyre (Paris, 2002), pp. 155–6.
- 82 From this perspective, the establishment of the military orders in Provence can be understood within the continuity of social behaviors analysed in F. Mazel, 'Amitié et rupture de l'amitié. Moines et grands laïcs provençaux au temps de la crise grégorienne (milieu XI^e-milieu XII^e siècle)', *Revue Historique*, 633 (2005), 53–95.
- 83 K. Borchardt, 'The military-religious orders: a medieval "school for administrators"?', in *MO* 5, pp. 3–20, offers a broad comparative perspective.
- 84 Religious uprisings in the region of St Gilles in 1562 resulted in the transfer of the Grand Priory to Arles. In 1615, Arles officially became the new seat of the Priory, a status it held until 1792, when the officers of the Directory ordered the sorting of the archives of the Order of Malta in order to burn lordly titles and proofs of nobility. See *CH*, I, pp. xxviii–xxxvii. On the great damage inflicted by the Protestants at the commanderies in Languedoc between 1562 and 1622, see Raybaud, *Histoire des Grands Prieurs*, I, pp. 119–20, 137–41, 152–4 and 189.

5 Conflicts and codices

The example of Clm 4620, a collection about the Hospitallers

Karl Borchardt

In theory, all religious orders were based on *fraterna caritas*, and this meant that they should not have been beset by conflicts in Christian societies. In practice, however, life was different. Quarrels abounded, because various ecclesiastical and secular authorities contested privileges and possessions. Both for the conduct of their internal affairs and for the defence of their status Hospitallers, Templars, the Teutonic Order, and others such as Cluniacs, Premonstratensians, and Cistercians issued statutes, formulated customs, developed case law, and collected papal privileges. From the middle of the eleventh to the early fourteenth century their efforts contributed to establishing a theological and legal culture based on scholastic principles which was unique among Western Christians and which Michael Mitterauer considered to be one of the important factors for the rise of Latin Europe in the following centuries.¹ For the Hospitallers the statutes, customs (*usances*), and individual cases (*esgarts*) deserve closer studies. A critical edition would have to be based on all extant medieval manuscripts in all languages. For the time being, we can use Delaville le Roulx's *Cartulaire* to 1310,² Lagleder for the German rule,³ and Hasecker's and Sarnowsky's *Stabilimenta* for the late fifteenth century Rhodian revision.⁴

What follows concerns just one well known manuscript: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex latinus monacensis (Clm, henceforth referred to as M) 4620,⁵ fols. 132v–139v, section 10 of part 2, contains a description of the hospital in Jerusalem that apparently predates the year 1187 and has been published by Benjamin Z. Kedar, provisionally, as Kedar himself stated.⁶ It was reprinted by Alain Beltjens,⁷ and Robert B. C. Huygens has criticized the edition.⁸ From Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4852, fols. 83r–104r, Susan Edgington has edited a similar Old French text on this hospital.⁹ The purpose of the present chapter is not to comment on these texts and the problems connected with them. Instead, the chapter will focus on the other contents of M and the conflicts which lay behind its compilation.

In the first place, it should be noted that M is probably not a Hospitaller manuscript. We do not exactly know who owned this manuscript in the Middle Ages. As far as we can trace its history, it belonged to Benediktbeuern, an old Benedictine monastery in the duchy of Bavaria. This is not unusual for texts on military-religious orders. Studies by Simonetta Cerrini and others have shown that a number

of manuscripts with texts about the Templars were compiled by or at least used and owned by non-Templar religious houses or orders.¹⁰ The same intention to gather information about competitors may have incited people to collect material about the Hospitallers. On the other hand, whenever the Hospitallers are mentioned in the manuscript they are called *fratres nostri*. Yet this may be because the scribes copied Hospitaller texts.

Today, M clearly comprises two parts: a first part (fols. 1–72) on St Mary and a second part (fols. 73–140) on the Hospitallers. The first part has no obvious connection with the Hospitallers. Such a connection cannot be completely excluded, however, as we know from Hospitaller legends that the Order of St John tried to convince people that after Christ's Passion and Ascension the Virgin had lived in the Jerusalem hospital until she died and was miraculously assumed to Heaven. The Virgin's three and a half year stay in the Jerusalem hospital is mentioned both in a forged papal letter in part two of M (edited below no. 3) and in a forged alms-raising letter from the second third of the thirteenth century which the Hospitallers used in Franconia,¹¹ but not in other versions of these legends.¹² The first part of M has only various general apocryphal texts on the Virgin during this period of her life. These texts do not mention the Jerusalem hospital. But they include the *Miracula* of the Virgin composed by Boto of Prüfening, a twelfth-century author from the Benedictine monastery of Prüfening near Regensburg in Bavaria. According to the script, this part of the codex is a little bit older than the second part, probably from the middle or the second half of the thirteenth century.

The second part of M, fols. 73–139, deals exclusively with the Hospitallers in ten sections:

- 1) fols. 73r–78v the Hospitaller rule, in German, ed. Lagleder (1983) pp. 116–122, not mentioned in *CH* no. 70;
- 2) fols. 79r–84r Hospitaller statutes compiled under Fr. Jobert and Fr. Roger des Moulins, in German, cf. *CH* nos. 494, 504, 627;
- 3) fols. 84r–94v Hospitaller statutes of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, in German, cf. *CH* nos. 627 and 1193, one third of this section not having parallels in *CH*;
- 4) fols. 94v–102v Hospitaller statutes allegedly composed under Fr. Hugues Revel in 1272, in German, most, though not all, of them being identical with *CH* nos. 3039, 3075, 3180, dated Acre 1262 and 1263 and 1265;
- 5) fols. 102v–103v Hospitaller statutes allegedly composed under Fr. Nicolas Lorgne in 1278, in German, partially identical with *CH* no. 3670;
- 6) fols. 103v–106v Hospitaller statutes allegedly composed under Fr. Jean de Villiers in the 1280s, in German, partially identical with *CH* nos. 3844 and 4022 dated 1283 and 1288;
- 7) fols. 107r–114v *esgarts* of the Hospital, here dated to 1252, in Latin, in most, though not in all, cases identical with *CH* no. 2213;
- 8) fols. 114v–118v *Tractatus Yosephi hystoriographus[!] de exordio domus sacre hospitalis Ierosolimitani*, ed. *RHC Occ* 5 pp. 405–10 from three manuscripts, among them M;

- 9) fols. 118v–121r summaries of papal privileges and fols. 121r–132r more or less complete copies of 30 charters, among them 27 papal and 3 royal documents for the Hospitallers;
- 10) fols. 132v–139v a description of the Jerusalem hospital, at the end apparently incomplete, ed. Kedar (see note 6).

This second part of M consists of nine quires¹³ and has been written by two scribes. The first hand has written six quaternions, two of which are incomplete (in both cases the first folio is missing but no text). The second hand starts on fol. 118r with a new quaternion but in the middle of a sentence. The second scribe has produced three quaternions, the last of which still has the back part of its cover sheet fol. 140rv, which shows fragments of liturgical texts written late in Carolingian minuscule. It clearly served only as a cover and has nothing to do with the contents of the manuscript.

The handwriting of this part of M is probably from the first half of the fourteenth century, and philologists think that the German language is the Bavarian dialect of the middle of the fourteenth century.¹⁴ Yet this probably refers to the orthography of the scribe and the production of the manuscript, not necessarily to the composition of the texts as they were copied here. The author of the text may still belong to the second half of the thirteenth century. Such a date is suggested by the statutes from the 1280s in section 6 and also by the papal and other privileges. Although the 30 charters in section 9 do not always mention their dates, they can be identified. They include one example each of the two basic Hospitaller privileges *Christiane fidei religio* – not a very faithful copy, as the date mentions the year 1000 instead of 1193 – and *Quam amabilis Deo*.¹⁵ All other documents are from the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Three of them are hereafter edited (M nos. 3, 19, 29, below nos. 1–3), as their texts are not printed in *CH*. Apart from the two general privileges, the papal letters come from Innocent III, Honorius III, Gregory IX, Alexander IV and Clement IV. The last of them was issued by Gregory X in 1274 (*Licet in concessis*, *CH* no. 3559), and the last royal privilege by Rudolf von Habsburg again in 1274 (*CH* no. 3562). So the compilation certainly postdates the second council of Lyons in 1274 where many prelates complained about the privileges of religious orders such as the Hospitallers. The confirmation of Rudolf's privilege by his successor Adolf von Nassau in 1295 (*CH* no. 4275) is not mentioned. Yet this is not a safe *terminus ante quem* as Adolf was a contested ruler who was deposed and killed in battle. His charter may have been deliberately ignored. A safer *terminus ante quem* might be the missing confirmation by Adolf's successor and Rudolf's son King Albrecht in 1299 (*CH* no. 4454).

Quantitatively and qualitatively the most important texts concern the Hospitalier legislation, the rule, the statutes, and the *esgarts*. Apparently, there is only one other German translation of the rule, the statutes, and this time also of the *usagien ind goide gewoenten*. This translation comes from Cologne, from the commandery St John and Cordula, and is dated to 1381;¹⁷ it is of course much later than M.

The last legislation mentioned in M are the statutes of Master Fr. Jean de Villiers from the 1280s. This confirms the impression that the compilation may have been composed in about 1290. The differences between M and the known, usually later Old French and Latin versions are not always trifles. One third of the oldest statutes fols. 84r–94v is not otherwise known, at least not from *CH* and not from this early date. The German translations in M, however, are not always reliable. As the Germans were not familiar with the first name of the Master Fr. Alfonse of Portugal, they called him Fr. Arnold of Portugal (fols. 84r, 85v). Some later statutes also show a number of meaningful variant readings. It may not be by chance that M includes a whole section on the “bruderschaft”, fols. 92v–94v (see below no. 4), the (*con*)*fratres* and (*con*)*sorores* who gave alms or made donations. The importance of this way of supporting the Holy Land decreased in later centuries, and this may be the reason why such clauses were omitted in later collections. The text includes the word *plenarie*, meaning missal, which is not German. So there must have been a French or Latin source for this clause. Other variants concern the historical setting of this legislation. The statutes compiled under Fr. Hugues de Revel are here dated to 1272 (not to 1262, 1263, 1265 as in *CH*), and the statutes compiled under Fr. Jean de Villiers are dated to 1286 (not to 1283 or 1288 as in *CH*).

In M fols. 107r–114v the *esgarts* are dated to 1252, but also referred back to a Hospitaller chapter held at Margat under the Master Fr. Al(fonse) or Con(rad) of Portugal, fol. 114v: *Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris presentem paginam insipientibus, quod adunato capitulo generali apud Margatum omnes iste constitutiones subscriptae recitate fuerint coram fratre Al. et [perhaps for vel] fratre Con. Portugali reverendo magistro hospitalis et coram antiquis et probis fratribus eiusdem domus, unde per testimonium fratrum antiquorum et aliorum predicta statuta inventa sunt et pro communi utilitate aprobata et manifesta. Idcirco statutum fuit a predicto magistro et capitulo generali, ut ab omnibus per virtutem sancte obedientie secundum posse domus inviolabiliter debeant observari, et qui non servaverit, secundum statuta punietur. Hec omnia statuta fuerunt in capitulo superius memorato anno Domini M^o CC^o LII [perhaps for III, IV or most probably VI] penultimo die membris [for mensis] Septembris. Conrad of Portugal is nonsense, and *et* is written in such a way that the original text may have had *vel*. If one looks at the way how *LII* is written, the original text may have had *VI*, and this may mean that 1252 has been misspelt for 1206.¹⁸*

The author of the compilation certainly knew German, as he was able to translate into that language. He included privileges by kings from Germany, Philip of Swabia in 1207, Henry (VII) in 1227, and Rudolf von Habsburg in 1274, and also a letter from Clement IV to Germany in 1266.¹⁹ Two times he alluded to the archbishop of Mainz.²⁰ The compiler also had some expertise in canon law, as he knew at least two papal decretals, Innocent IV on the first council of Lyons 1245, VI^o 5.7.1, fol. 119v: *Item quod institutio Innocentii quarti, que incipit ‘Volentes’, que dicit: ‘exempti quantumcunque gaudeant libertate, ratione tam delicti quam contractus seu rei coram ordinariis possunt conveniri’, se [sed M] ad nos non*

extendit,²¹ and Clement IV, fol. 120r: *Item quod prelati nostri iuxta statuta ordinis priorum et capitulorum provincialium mutare possunt fratres eorum institutos in ecclesiis eorum parochialibus episcopis irrequisitis et quod illi alios investire debent per privilegium Clementis, quod incipit 'Dilectis filiis'*.²²

Furthermore, when discussing events in Cologne the compiler referred to the Apparatus of Goffredus Tranensis (†1245),²³ fol. 119rv: *Nos autem quidam homines parum periti nostris libertatibus invidentes, qui hoc verbum 'nominatim' volunt glosare sic, quando contra civitas interdictitur, quod tunc homines sint nominatim interdicti, non attendentes, quod hoc non debet nominatim vel particulatim interdictum, sed generalis interdictum, per decretum Extra, De verborum significatione, Cum in partibus [Extra 5.40.17]. Preterea istam dubitationem removens Gaufridus glosat istud verbum 'nominatim' in apparatu suo sic d(icens): 'nominatim interdicti vel nominatim excommunicati dicuntur, quando propriis nominibus expressis vel aliis circumlocutionibus, que vicem proprii nominis sustinent, exprimuntur aliqui, ut Institutis, De exheredit(atione) lib(eratione), Nominatim [Inst. 2.13.1], ff. De condic(tionibus) indebitis § Si nominatim [Dig. 35.1.34], ff. De matrim(onio) [recte manumissis] test(amento) § Nominatim [Dig. 40.4.24], ff. [De rebus creditis om. M] si certum pet(etur) § Certum [Dig. 12.1.6], ff. De lib(eris) et post(humis) § ii. [Dig. 28.2.2]'. Sic determinat [deteriant M] Gaufridus.²⁴ Et nos in hoc verbo communiter utebantur Colonie, quando episcopus pro sua necessitate posuerat locum sub interdicto immo et alibi observatus. Potest tamen adhiberi una cautela, quod, quando sacerdos sacris vestibus indutus veniens ad altare vertit se ad populum et dicat: 'Si quis adest nominatim excommunicatus vel interdictus exeat', et sic quotquot homines intrare voluerint, apertis ianuis recipiuntur, si [sed M] tamen divina incipiuntur, clauduntur [dupl. M] ianue et non debent etiam campane pulsari ad missam.*

The codex most closely related to M is Vat. lat. 4852, generally held to represent the first, pre-1291 version of Fr. Guglielmo de Santo Stefano or Guillaume de St-Estène,²⁵ who collected Hospitaller statutes and privileges in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. It is not sure, however, that the compiler of M was a Hospitaller. Yet the aim of his compilation is quite clear. M served to defend the exemption not only of the Hospitallers themselves but also of their benefactors, of the members of their wider confraternity and of their subjects, e.g. fol. 118v: *Item quod homines nostri ab episcopis et aliis iudicibus pro excessibus suis pena pecuniaria non sunt puniendi*. Apparently its most pressing purpose was the defence of the Hospitallers' alms-collectors, e.g. fol. 120r even against possible revocations of their privileges: *Item confirmat Lucius papa regulam nostram iuxta regulam beati Augustini promittens, quod eam tenentes ad beatitudinis bravium pertingant. Item inhibet, ne revocetur, nisi forte in melius augeatur. Item quod ecclesiarum rectores in ecclesiis suis permittere nos debent querere elemosinas*.²⁶ Revocation of privileges was an issue around 1300 both for the military religious and for the mendicant orders, especially the Templars and the Franciscans when the popes were under pressure from various ecclesiastical and lay authorities. Such conflicts were probably the background of the codex here discussed.

Edition

1

Gregory (IX) remits one seventh of their penitence to all members of the Hospitallers' confraternity. If their churches are under interdict, he permits their burial, provided that they are not excommunicated by name or public usurers. If burial in their own churches is denied to the members of the Hospitallers' confraternity, they may be buried on Hospitaller cemeteries, provided that they are not excommunicated by name or under interdict or public usurers. And the Hospitallers may keep all revenues for such burials, provided that they respect the rights of others. — M fol. 122r; charter no. 3. For the full text and the date, Digitaal Oorkondeboek van Groninge en Drenthe, kla0005; see also CH nos. 2164 and 2189 of Viterbo 1237 June 17 and Lateran 1238 March 15.

Anagni 1238 August 26

In hoc rescripto apostolico confratribus et sororibus nostris censualibus septima pars iniuncte penitentiae relaxatur.

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei et cetera. Cum dilectis filiis fratribus Ierosolimitani Hospitalis fuerit a predecessoribus nostris indultum et a nobis postmodum confirmatum et cetera. Preterea quicumque de facultatibus sibi a Deo collatis fratribus subvenerit memoratis et tam^{a)} sancta fraternitate statuerit se collegam eisque beneficia persolverit annuatim, ei de beatorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi septimam partem iniuncte penitentiae relaxamus. Apostoli quoque auctoritate ob reverentiam ipsius venerabilis domus statuimus, ut hiis, qui eorum fraternitatem assumpserint, si forsitan ecclesiae, ad quas pertinent, a divinis fuerint officiis interdicti^{b)} ipsosque mori contigerit, sepultura ecclesiastica non negatur, nisi excommunicati vel nominatim fuerint interdicti aut etiam publici usurarii. Volumus autem, ut liceat eis confratres suos, quos ecclesiarum prelati apud ecclesias suas maliciose non permiserint sepeliri, nisi excommunicati vel nominatim fuerint interdicti aut etiam publico usurarii, tumultuosos deferre ad ecclesias Hospitalis eiusdem et oblationes tam pro eis quam pro aliis, qui in eorum cimiteriis requiescunt, exhibitas sine alieni iuris prejudicio retinere.

a) in tanta praem. ante corr. b) om. M.

2

Honorius (III) grants to the Hospitallers the privilege that after confession their brethren may be absolved by their prior who is a priest, provided that their sins are not as enormous as to necessitate recourse to the apostolic see. — M fol. 127v, charter no. 19. The text but not the date is known from Extra 5.39.50, ed. Emil Friedberg, Corpus Iuris Canonici, 2 (Leipzig, 1881), col. 910. CH no. 1796 has Lateran 1224 December 18, XV. kalendas Ianuarii . . . anno IX.

Lateran 1225 December 28

Honorius episcopus et cetera dilectis filiis magistro et cetera. Canonica institutione cavetur, quod monachi et canonici regulares, cum se in claustris percusserint, non

sunt ad apostolicam sedem mittendi, sed secundum providentiam et discretionem sui abbatis discipline subdantur. Quod si abbatis discretio ad eorum correctionem non sufficit, providentia dyocesani est adhibenda, nisi excessus adeo fuerit difficilis vel enormis, propter quem merito sit ad Romanam ecclesiam recursus^{a)} habendus. Nos vero vestris supplicationibus inclinati statutum huiusmodi ad vos duximus extendendum auctoritate presentium statuentes, ut in tali casu, nisi^{b)} maioris sit providentia requirenda, per priorem vestrum, qui, sicut audivimus, presbiter esse debeat, fratribus vestris absolutionis beneficium inpendatur. Dat. Lateran. V. kal(endas) Ianuarii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

a) reversurus *praem. ante corr.* b) et M.

3

Innocent (IV) extols the Jerusalem hospital and the Hospitallers. Christ himself has visited this hospital, and after his Ascension the Virgin has lived there for three and a half years. It is there that the Hospitallers keep armed men, look after the sick and house guests. The pope confirms a privilege issued by his predecessors that the Hospitallers' alms-collectors may come once a year to churches under interdict in order to celebrate mass and to preach, provided that excommunicates are excluded. Benefactors of the Hospitallers may be solemnly buried in the Hospitallers' cemeteries. After confession the benefactors may be forgiven a number of named crimes which do not necessitate recourse to the apostolic see. The pope remits one third of their penances, excommunicates all those who wrong the Hospitallers' alms-collectors and asks all prelates to protect the alms-collectors. – M fols. 130v–132r; charter no. 29, perhaps originally an addition after the three royal privileges nos. 26–28 and before charter no. 2 was repeated as charter no. 30. Contrary to CH no. 2674, M and other copies, including an alleged original from the commandery of Altmühlminster in Bavaria, are derived from a forgery, because the popes never remitted one third of the penances but only one seventh, and because they consistently used the pluralis maiestatis. CH no. 911, Celestine III, Vatican 1191 July 16, is only a fifteenth-century copy. But similar texts were issued later on, e.g. by Clement V for the Holy Sepulchre, Avignon 1310 October 22, ed. Monumenta Boica 30/2 (München, 1835), pp. 50–3 no. 247 [= MB], and by Boniface IX for the Hospitallers in Dacia, Norway and Sweden, Rome near St. Peter 1402 May 6, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, ed. Diplomatarium Danicum, fourth series, ed. Herluf Nielsen, 8 (Kobenhavn, online), no. 375, not mentioning the legends and remitting only 100 days of the penitence.

Lateran 1254 April 9

Innocentius episcopus servus servorum^{a)} Dei cunctis ecclesiarum prelati, archiepiscopis, episcopis et universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis, ad quos littere iste pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quot et quantis, dilectissimi, adversitatibus, quantisque pressuris et angustiis, quantaque rerum instabilitate presentis vite conversatio varietur, ex ipsis rerum eventibus cuilibet facile satis patere potest. Clarescit enim iam undique Ierusalem civitatem sanctam, matrem nostre redemptionis, flagellari et crebris insultationibus Saracenorum vexari universasque^{b)} rerum mutationes totiens fieri, ut ipsa prosperitas, que dudum satis patuit^{c)}

durabilis, modo plus etiam, quam credi [/131r] possit, instabilis videatur. Quapropter animadvertendum est, quam salubris et fructuosa sit divinorum observatio preceptorum, quam^{d)} totius divine pagine series insinuat, omnis vita bonorum testatur et ipse, quem exequemur^{e)} ex ea, fructus felicitatis ostendit. Unde est, quod vobis consulendum arbitror^{f)} prospera huius mundi indurabilia vitare et divinis preceptis cordis aures inclinare celestibusque indesinenter inhiare. Nam filios pacis et dilectionis fratres sancti Hospitalis et sanctorum pauperum Ierosolimis et ubique terrarum in Christo laudabiliter famulantes nostra auctoritate vestris tuitionibus^{g)} commendare studuimus. Quam domum^{h)} dominus et salvator mundi, Dei filius, factus homo, ex virgine natus egressu et regressuⁱ⁾ sanctificavit signis et prodigiis ac sanctissima conversatione in perpetuum suo nomini^{j)} dedicavit. In qua domo mater Dei, virgo immaculata post ascensionem dilecti filii sui perseverans mansit tribus annis et dimidio. Quo etiam in loco commendata est virgini virgo. Cuius domus qui fraternitatem, communionem, participationem habuerint^{k)} et hos et omnes illius loci nuntios digne venerandos et^{l)} ut vere filios Dei amandos clementer receperint, benigne foverint et elemosinis transitoriis pro salute animarum suarum eos ditaverint, indubitanter sciant in tremendo iudicio in superna Ierusalem, que est visio pacis, cum angelis et cum omnibus sanctis se eternaliter regnuros et filium Dei non in speculo et in enigmate, sed sicut^{m)} in dextera Dei patris est, facie ad faciem feliciter in perpetuum visuros. Ubi etⁿ⁾ audituri sunt: *Venite, benedicti patris mei* et cetera¹⁾. *Esurivi enim et dedistis michi manducare* et cetera²⁾ misericordie opera. O vere felix ille, qui inter mille particulas solam et unicam digne et laudabiliter elemosinam sibi salutiferam impendit. Mandamus igitur et mandando precipimus omnibus ecclesiarum prelatis, ut huius domus nuntios omni occasione postposita cum suis adiutoribus tanquam Christum suscipiant, bonis cumulent, litteris commendaticiisⁿ⁾ confirmant. Ne ergo alicui indignum videatur vel indebitum^{o)}, quare hos nuntios tam fideli cura et testimonio certo dirigamus, causa certa et nota satis in promptu est. Quis non admiretur potentiam Dei in predicta domo et fratribus eisdem tam patenter florere et perseverare, ubi tot armati cottidie sustentantur^{p)}, tot infirmi procurantur, tot hospites recipiuntur et, ut breviter comprehendatur, ubi de quacunque neccessitate clamaverint, cottidie consolantur. Hec, inquam, domus^{q)} refrigerii, domus^{q)} pietatis, domus omnimode consolationis. Hanc etiam domum ipsum Ihesum Christum quasi in cunctis beneficiis miraculosam^{r)} credimus reliquisse. Quis non iocundetur in se, cum audierit, quod quicumque in eadem domo^{s)} infirmantium desideraverit^{t)} vel pomum vel uvas, quanto[/131v]cunque^{u)} pretio sit comparandum^{v)}, dum tantummodo venale inveniat^{v)}, sit proculdubio accepturus? Ex hac igitur causa multimoda^{v)} huius domus administratione excitamur non inmerito fidelium mentes etiam excitare volentes et monitis et preceptis, ut pauperes illi et infirmi vestris elemosinis sublevantur^{w)}. Notum etiam facimus universali ecclesie, quod hec domus beate Marie et beati Iohannis baptiste et fratres ad eandem domum pertinentes potestatem et gratiam ab antecessoribus nostris apostolicis^{x)} ad nos usque perduxerunt, quam gratiam nos minime negamus, sed monendo et precipiendo confirmamus, ut^{y)}, ubicunque fuerit ecclesia vel monasterium, a quo nostro precepto sive prelaturum qualicumque ex causa divinum officium suspensum fuerit, liceat eis ibidem semel in anno divina

celebrare et populo Dei verbum salutis ewangelizare. Preterea concedimus, ut, si forte ibidem excommunicati, qui digni sunt electione, tunc temporis affuerint^{v)}, ex pietate Christi, qui neminem vult perire, et amore pie matris a divino officio [non *add.* CH no. 911] coarcentur. Nolumus etiam hoc vos ignorare, karissimi, quod idem fratres et eadem domus in initio^{z)} a Romana sede habuerunt et nostris temporibus a nostra clementia acceperunt, ut fratres et sorores eorum fraternitatis participes, qui^{aa)} adhuc vita comite vel defuncti, quorum amici consanguinitatis sibi linea iuncti elemosinis comprobare veraciter potuerint, hos fideles infirmos^{bb)} domus beate Marie et sancti Iohannis baptiste fuisse constituimus eis licere karitatis vinculum hiis exhibere et sollempnia defunctorum celebrare et in cimiterio absque ulla contradictione terre committere^{aa)}. Insuper misericorditer indulgemus homicidas, eliminatos et feminas, que proprios infantes oppresserunt vel custodiam neglexerunt^{cc)} ipsis submersis, igne^{dd)} exustis, a feris dilaniatis^{ee)}, clericorum percussores absque sanguinis effusione nisi fors casuali^{ff)} vel in tabernis, vel qui parentes offenderunt absque manuum iniectioe, similiter eos, qui ecclesias vel claustra vel alia pia loca vi castrarunt^{gg)} vel ad ipsa confugientes^{hh)} temerarie bello occuparuntⁱⁱ⁾ et in cimiteriis vel ecclesiis sanguinem effunderunt preter incendia ecclesiarum, adulteros, incestuosos, spoliatores, fornicatores^{jj)}, periuros et in ceteris casibus, pro quibus ad nostram audientiam non sunt mittendi^{kk)}, vere confessos et pie vivere volentes in Christo Ihesu per manus predictorum fratrum sancte matris ecclesie reconciliari. Ego^{ll)} Innocentius, qui non meis meritis, sed divina gratia ad papatus honorem perveni, omnes^{mm)}, qui hanc domum elemosinis aut consilio promoverint, auctoritate Ihesu Christi et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli a tertiaⁿⁿ⁾ parte iniuncte penitentiae in die iudicii liberos resigno^{oo)}. Hiis autem malefacientes et vestros nuntios non credentes, nisi per satisfactionem congruam veniam consequantur, gladio anathematis sequestramus et eterna clausura dampnamus. Vos autem sitis commo[132r]niti in Domino, ut, sicut Romana auctoritas^{pp)} dictavit, omnes, qui eis iniuriuntur, ad satisfactionem plenariam constringi faciatis et inremisse teneatis. Dat. Lateran. V. idus Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno undecimo.

a) et cetera *add.* M. b) *diversasque* MB. c) *paruit* MB. d) *quoniam* MB. e) *quem exequemur*] *exequenter* MB. f) *consulendum arbitror*] *consulendi arbitramur* MB. g) *vestris tuitionibus*] *vobis vestrisque communibus* MB. h) *Quam domum*] *Quoniam hec est domus quam* MB. i) *egressu et regressu*] *egressus et regressus* MB. j) *nomine* MB. k) *habuit* M. l) *om.* MB. m) *cum* MB. n) *commendatoriis* MB. o) *vel indebitum* *om.* MB. p) *tot armati cottidie sustentantur* *om.* MB. q) *est* *add.* MB. r) *sic* MB; *om.* M. s) *quanticunque* MB. t) *compandum* M; *pretii sint comparande* MB. u) *venales inveniantur* MB. v) *causa multimoda*] *multitudine* MB. w) *sustententur* MB. x) *habuerunt et* *add.* MB. y) *affuerunt* MB. z) *idem fratres et eadem domus in initio*] *iidem fratres et eiusdem domus nuntii* MB. aa) *quos ecclesiarum prelati apud ecclesias suas malitiose non permiserint sepeliri, nisi excommunicati vel nominatim fuerint interdicti aut etiam publice usurarii, valeant in cimiteriis absque ulla contradictione terre committere et ibidem defunctorum sollempnia celebrare* MB. bb) *et firmos* M. cc) *sic* MB; *oppresserunt* M. dd) *in igne* MB. ee) *dilamatis* MB. ff) *nisi fors casuali*] *si casualiter* MB. gg) *vi castrarunt*] *incastrarunt* M.

hh) refugientes MB. ii) bello occuparunt] occupaverunt MB. jj) feneratores CH no. 911; vel raptores MB. kk) non sunt mittendi] sunt transmittendi MB. ll) Et nos MB. mm) omnibus M. nn) septima MB. oo) resignamus M, CH no. 911, MB. pp) curia MB. 1) Matth. 25.34. 2) Matth. 26.35.

4

Statutes concerning the confraternity of the Hospitallers, the oath of its members, their burial, the book into which their payments have to be written, their fasting and their feast days. – M fols. 92v–94r. Similar to but not identical with CH no. 3039 § 28 (p. 49), Acre 1262 September 19. Bold letters indicate rubra.

Von bruderschaft. So unser^{a)} pruderschaft gæret, so shol der phleger oder der prior die prudere haizen chomen und shol in die hende heizen legen auf das plenarie unde gehaize, daz er von dem tage daz haus fûdere, daz er daz haus warne vor shaden, wo er ez nicht muge beshirmen, und gebe ier[/93r]lich von sinem leibe als vil, als er da gelobe, und nach seime tode, als vil er gelobe. Und welle er in ainen orden, so shol er des ersten unsers gern. Ist des nicht, so er stirbet, so shol man in begraben in unserm vreithove sei ez in der næhe. **Die gnade, die nu tut der orden.** ‘Umme so getan gelûbde, so du gote getan hast und sent Marien, sent Iohannes Baptisten und unsern herren den siechen, so neme wir dich und deines vaters und deiner muter, selen in unser messe, metten, vesper und in al unser gepet, in unser vasten, wachen und in alle die guttæte, die in dem orden ie geschach oder iemer geshiet, daz iu got solchen tail gebe daran, als unser islicher wartende ist.’ Und so datz gesprochen ist, so shullen die prudere sich naigen auf daz ertreiche und ir gepet gote tun über in. So hebe der prister an: ‘Deus miserere anime tue^{b)}’ und aine collecte als übr ai[/93v]nen pruder. Darnach der maister oder der prior küsse in und alle die prudere, die da sint. Darnach schreibe in und seinen zins, der er lebende und toter shol geben, an das kalendener¹⁾. **Diez sint die tage, die wir vasten.** Diez sint die vasten. Diu erste ist die quadragesime, die got selbe vaste. Sancti Marci: Ist, daz sande Marcus tac in die Ostern geveile, so shol man den tac und die vaste nach der Osterwochen legen und danne vasten. Die drei tage für der Aufverte. Den hailigen abent ze Phingesten. Die vier cotemper. Sanct Iohannes abent. Sent Peters sent Paulus. Sant Laurentien. Unser Vrowen Shiedunge. Sent Bartholomeus. Sent Matheus. Sent Symon und Iudas. Aller hailigen. Darnach an dem ersten suntage nach Allerhailigen tage, so vaste wir unz ze Winachten. Sent Andre. Sent Thoman. Den Winacht abent. [/94r] Den zwelften abent²⁾. **Diez sint die tage, die wir shul-lent veirn den hailigen.** Diez sint die tage, die man veiren shol. Zem ersten die suntage. Den Wienachtach. Sent Sthephans. Sent Iohans Ewangelist. Den achten tac. Den zwelften tach. Die liechtmesse. Unser Frowen in der vasten, als ir got gehündet wart. Den Ostertac. Den mantach. Den iretac. Sent Georien. Sent Philipp und Iacobi. Des hailigen creuces tach, als ez wart funden. Sant Iohannes tac, als er geporn wart. Sand Peters und sand Pauls. Sand Marien Magdalenen. Sand Iacobs. Laurencien. Unser Frowen, daz sie starp und daz sie geporn wart. Bartholome. Sant Iohannes, als er wart gehaupt. Daz daz hailige criuce wart

erhöhet. Sant Matheus. Michahel. Sande Symons unde Iudas. Aller hailigen tach. Sand Marteins⁹. [/94v] Sand Andreas tach. Sant Thomans³).

a) unsen praem. ante corr. b) nostre M. c) Sancte Thomans add. ante corr. 1) Usance no. 122, CH no. 2213 (pp. 557–8). 2) Not identical with CH no. 3039 § 31 (pp. 50–1), Acre 1262 September 19. 3) *Spatium pro miniatura*.

Notes

- 1 M. Mitterauer, *Warum Europa? Mittelalterliche Grundlagen eines Sonderwegs* (München, 2003), pp. 188–98. For a survey, see J. Sarnowsky, 'Die Statuten der geistlichen Ritterorden', in *Von der Ordnung zur Norm: Statuten in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. G. Drossbach (Paderborn, 2010), pp. 255–64.
- 2 CH nos. 70, 494, 504, 627, 1193, 2213, 2653, 3039, 3075, 3180, 3396, 3670, 3844, 4022, 4194, 4234, 4259, 4267, 4295, 4515, 4549, 4550, 4574, 4612, 4642, 4672, 4703, 4734; J. Delaville le Roulx, 'Les Statuts de l'Ordre de l'Hôpital', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 48 (1887), 341–56; M. Ambraziejūtė, *Studien über die Johanniter-Regel* (Freiburg im Üchtland, 1929); A. Beltjens, 'Les cinq Règles auxquelles furent soumis les Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem en Terre sainte et à Chypre', *Société de l'histoire et du patrimoine de l'ordre de Malte*, 10 (2002), 4–20; 12 (2003), 4–25. See also R. Ciérbide Martinena, *Estatutos antiguos de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén: versión original occitana y su traducción al español, según el código navarro del AHN de Madrid (1314)* (Pamplona, 1999); M.-R. Bonnet and R. Ciérbide Martinena, *Estatutos de la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén: edición crítica de los manuscritos occitanos, s. XIV = Les statuts de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem: édition critique des manuscrits en langue d'oc, XIVe siècle* (Bilbao, 2006).
- 3 G. Tonque Lagleder, *Die Ordensregel der Johanniter/Malteser. Die geistlichen Grundlagen des Johanniter-/Malteserordens* (St. Ottilien, 1983). For a modern English translation, E. J. King, *The Rule, Statutes, and Customs of the Hospitallers 1099–1310* (London, 1934).
- 4 *Stabilimenta Rhodiorum militum. Die Statuten des Johanniterordens von 1489/93*, ed. J. Hasecker and J. Sarnowsky (Göttingen, 2007).
- 5 K. Halm, G. Laubmann and W. Meyer, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 1/2: *Codices num. 2501–5250 complectens*, Editio altera emendatio (München, 1894), p. 218; G. Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4501–4663* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 210–14; G. Glauche, 'Johanniterregel und -statuten', in *Verfasserlexikon: Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2nd edn, vol. 11: *Nachträge und Korrekturen* ed. W. Stammer, K. Langosch & K. Ruh (Berlin, 2004), cols. 807–11, here cols. 809–10.
- 6 B. Z. Kedar, 'A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital', in *MO* 2, pp. 3–26.
- 7 A. Beltjens, 'Le récit d'une journée au grand hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem sous la règne des derniers rois latins ayant résidé à Jérusalem, ou le témoignage d'un clerc anonyme conservé dans la manuscrit Clm 4620 de Munich', *Société de l'histoire et du patrimoine de l'ordre de Malte*, 14 (2004) [special issue], 3–79.
- 8 R. B. C. Huygens, 'Editorisch Verfehltes zum Hospital von Jerusalem', *Deutsches Archiv*, 61 (2005), 165–7. Contrary to p. 166 note 3 it should be noted, however, that Benediktbeuern is right and Beuron wrong.
- 9 S. Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations for the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem Dating from the 1180s', *Crusades*, 4 (2005), 21–37. This paper refers to the unpublished doctoral thesis by Katja Klement, "*Von Krankenspeisen und Ärzten . . .*". *Eine unbekannte Verfügung des Johannitermeisters Roger des Moulins (1177–1187) im Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4852* (Salzburg, 1996). See also D. Pringle, 'The Layout of

- the Jerusalem Hospital in the Twelfth Century: Further Thoughts and Suggestions', in *MO* 4, pp. 91–110.
- 10 S. Cerrini, 'A New Edition of the Latin and French Rule of the Temple', in *MO* 2, pp. 207–15.
 - 11 K. Borchardt, 'Two Forged Thirteenth-Century Alms-Raising Letters Used by the Hospitaliers in Franconia', in *MO* 1, pp. 52–6; K. Borchardt, 'Spendenaufrufe der Johanniter aus dem 13. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 56 (1993), 1–61, here 2 *tribus annis et dimidio*.
 - 12 *De prima origine hospitaliariorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx (Paris, 1885); *The Hospitallers' Rule* (*Miracula et Regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitani*), ed. K. V. Sinclair (London, 1984); K. V. Sinclair, 'The Anglo-Norman Miracles of the Foundation of the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem', *Medium Aevum*, 55 (1986), 102.8; *Les Légendes de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, ed. A. Calvet (Paris, 2000); J. Sarnowsky, 'Die Entwicklung des historischen Selbstverständnisses in den geistlichen Ritterorden', in *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. Actes des journées d'études de Göttingen (25–26 juin 2009). Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter. Beiträge der Göttinger Tagung (25.–26. Juni 2009)*, ed. P. Josserand and M. Olivier (Berlin, 2012), pp. 43–58; A. Calvet, 'Les légendes de l'hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, entre mythe et histoire', in *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. Josserand and Olivier, pp. 61–71.
 - 13 Fols. 73–9, 80–7, 88–95, 96–103, 104–10, 111–17, 118–25, 126–33, 134–9 (140). As one can easily see the nine quires do not agree with the ten sections. So this part of Clm 4620 has been written in one effort.
 - 14 Glauche (see note 5).
 - 15 *CH* nos. 740, 943; R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Neue Folge*, 2 (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 104–62.
 - 16 The papal privileges include *CH* nos. 3559 (M no. 1), 1879 (M no. 2), 1869 (M no. 4), 3191 (M no. 7), 3245 (M no. 8), 3176 (M no. 9), 3204 (M no. 10), 3196 (M no. 11), 3177 (M no. 12), 3181 (M no. 13), 3233 (M no. 14), 3195 (M no. 15), 3277 (M no. 16), 3160 (M no. 17), 1562 (M no. 18), 1879 (M no. 20, as no. 2, but here ascribed to Honorius III), 2837 (M no. 21), 2707 or 2956 (M no. 22), 2836 (M no. 23), 2809 (M no. 24), 1367 (M no. 25), 3177 (M no. 30, as no. 12), the royal privileges *CH* nos. 1264, 1888, 3562 (M nos. 26–8).
 - 17 Köln, Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums, Sign. Pfarrkirche St. Remigius, Königswinter, C I 1.5; *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*, ed. G. Gattermann, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 802–3.
 - 18 A. T. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Early Written Records', in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 135–54, here pp. 144–5 and note 46.
 - 19 M charters nos. 10 (Clement IV) and 26–8 (the three kings): *CH* nos. 1264, 1888, 3562, and 3204.
 - 20 Fol. 118v: *non obstante statuto ab archiepiscopo Maguntinensi in contrarium edito in concilio provinciali*, and fol. 120r: *Item quod archiepiscopus Maguntinensis quintam aut quartam aut terciam partem proventuum a nobis non exigit, et quod si fecerit, restituat sic exacta*.
 - 21 Ed. Emil Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2 (Leipzig, 1881), cols. 1082–3.
 - 22 Correct would be *Dilecti filii*, issued by Clement IV, Viterbo 1268 January 30, *CH* no. 3296, renewed by Boniface VIII, Rome near St Peter 1297 January 31, *CH* no. 4340.
 - 23 Martin Bertram, 'Nochmals zum Dekretalenapparat des Goffredus Tranensis', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 82 (2002), 638–62, with a list of manuscripts, some of them from Germany; Martin Bertram, 'Goffredo de Trani', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 50 (2001), 545–9; Martin Bertram, 'Der Dekretalenapparat des Goffredus Tranensis', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, 1 (1971),

- 79–83. See also the reprints idem, *Kanonisten und ihre Texte* (1234 bis Mitte 14. Jh.) (Leiden, 2013), pp. 157–81.
- 24 Cf. ms. Montecassino 266 pag. 277 apparatus for Extra 5.33.3 (*Cum et plantare*) v. *et nominatim*; <http://mosaico.cirfsid.unibo.it/266/montecassino>. Many thanks are due to Martin Bertram, Rome, for this reference.
- 25 A. T. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Historical Activities', in Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440* (Aldershot, 1978), no. XVII pp. 1–10, here pp. 2–4; A. T. Luttrell, 'Fourteenth-Century Hospitaller Lawyers', in *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West*, no. XVI pp. 449–456, here p. 450, pointing out his canon law expertise; A. Beltjens, 'Guillaume de Saint-Estène', in *P&C*, p. 416; J. Burgdorf, 'Die Pariser Sammlung des Johanniters Wilhelm von St. Stefan: Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 6049 (ms. s. XIV)', in *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters*, ed. R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky (Toruń, 2009), pp. 253–76, here pp. 254, 266–7.
- 26 1184/85: *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita*, ed. J. von Pflugk-Harttung, 2 (Stuttgart, 1884), p. 389, no. 441; *CH* no. 690.

6 **‘Maligno spiritu ductus et sue professionis immemor’**

Conflicts within the Culture of the Hospitaller Order on Rhodes and Cyprus

Simon Phillips

The term ‘military-religious order’ sounds like an oxymoron. In fact, the concept of such an order is one that has perplexed contemporaries of the military orders and modern historians alike. When it did not perplex, it attracted criticism, notably from within the contemplative religious orders that were competing with the military orders for patronage. This chapter focuses on the discrepancies between the culture of the military-religious order of the Hospital of St John, as expressed in the order’s normative documents, and the realities of Hospitaller life. It aims to assess how the Hospitallers dealt with abuses of, and derivations from, their customs and to investigate to what extent such abuses were tolerated.

From their inception, the military orders had an ambiguous status. Anthony Luttrell has pointed out that although professed members were religious and the brethren took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, and followed a rule approved by the papacy, they were not strictly speaking monks or canons, nor were they knights in the secular sense.¹ He further observed that there is ‘no tidy classification of a military order’, which of course has implications for the members of these orders.² This observation is especially applicable to the Hospitallers who were not created as a military order, but eventually took on military responsibilities, which they added to their other duties. The first rule of the Hospitallers, formulated during the administration of Master Raymond de Puy, committed all brethren to chastity, obedience and a life of personal poverty.³ Yet even at this early stage provisions were made for exceptions to the rule. For example, the rule stated that brothers who fornicated in secret should do penance in secret, and that they should impose the penance on themselves.⁴ The rule also implies that brothers could have private possessions if these were disclosed to the master, and a statute of 1295 allowed brothers to keep purchases they had made for life, but not to sell, appropriate or alienate them unless with special licence from the master and the convent.⁵ Of the vows to be taken by members of the order upon their profession, as prescribed in the Hospitaller rule and the later statutes that were built on it, the one that was deemed the most important seems to have been that of obedience. For instance, whereas a statute of 1283 did not explicitly classify holding possessions or breaking chastity as valid reasons for brothers to lose the habit, it made clear that desertion, disloyalty or surrender in battle without the master’s permission did carry that punishment. Looting after battle and sodomy were also forbidden,

presumably because these acts carried practical military as well as serious religious implications.⁶ The emphasis on obedience, as expressed in the rule and statutes, is understandable given the increasing military role played by the Hospitallers from the mid-twelfth century onwards.

A military-religious order with a strong secular element such as the Order of St John was bound to have cases of brothers who occasionally transgressed the rules of the institution they served. The possibility of such a transgression was tacitly acknowledged in the Hospitallers' earliest set of rules, which was probably formulated in the 1130s and confirmed sometime between 1145 and 1153.⁷ For example, regarding the temptation posed by women, point four of the rule states that when brothers are 'in domo aut in ecclesia vel ubicumque femine sint invicem, suam pudicitiam custodiant, nec femine capita eorum lavent nec pedes nec lectum faciant. Deus enim qui habitat in sanctis isto modo custodiat eos, amen'.⁸ Point nine of the rule elaborates on those found guilty of fornication:

Ac si aliquis frater, quod utinam numquam eveniat, peccatis exigentibus ceciderit in fornicationem, si occulte peccaverit, occulte peniteat, et jungatur sibi penitencia congrua ; si autem comprehensus et publicatus pro certo fuerit in eadem villa in qua facinus perpetraverit, die dominica post missas, quando populus ab ecclesia egressus fuerit, videntibus cunctis exuatur, et a magistro suo clerico, si clericus fuerit qui peccaverit, verberetur, si vero laycus fuerit a clerico vel ab eo cui clericus injunxerit, corrigiis vel virgis durissime flagelletur et verberetur, ac de omni societate nostra expellatur; postea vero si Deus cor illius illustraverit, et ad domum pauperum reversus fuerit, atque se reum et peccatorem atque legis Dei transgressorem confessus fuerit, et emendationem promiserit, recipiatur et penitentia digna sibi inponatur, et per annum integrum in loco extranei teneatur, et in hoc spatio videant fratres satisfactionem suam, postea faciant quod melius sibi videbitur.⁹

Both points four and nine of the rule show a concern for how the order was perceived in public, with point four clearly stating that when brethren went abroad or visited cities and castles 'in habitu et omnibus motibus eorum nichil fiat quod quisquam offendat aspectum, sed quod suam doceat sanctitatem'.¹⁰ Similarly, only brothers who broke the vow of chastity openly, thereby publicly dishonouring their order, received harsh punishment. It is with these indiscretions and sexual lapses, which went against the Hospitallers' accepted cultural norms, that this chapter is concerned.¹¹

Improprieties occurred, of course, and some even involved senior officials. In the case of Juan Fernández de Heredia, however, who had at least four illegitimate children by no fewer than two mothers, his blatant disregard of the vow of chastity did not stop him from being elected grand master.¹² Neither were Hospitaller women free from involvement in sexual scandal, which usually resulted from harassment by male members of the order, as had been the case at Aconbury, England, in 1236, and at Alguaire in Aragon in 1417. In the latter case, one of the Hospitaller sisters, Sor Margarida d'Erill, became pregnant, reportedly by her cousin, Fr. Ramon Roger, who was a Hospitaller brother at the same commandery. His later removal from the commandery may have been in response to the scandal,

although the possibility also exists that it was one result of a power struggle surrounding the appointment of a new commander at the time. Fr. Ramon did not lose his habit over the incident, however, and by May 1428 he had risen to the position of drapier, the most senior office of the *langue* of Spain on Rhodes.¹³

In spite of the previous examples, records of misdemeanours and the Order's reaction to them are hard to come by in the surviving Hospitaller documents, partly, one would suspect, because the Order wanted to avoid scandal. Thus when such records do survive, we must assume that they concerned serious cases which the Order could not afford to ignore. One such case arose in the early fifteenth century and may have involved the Hospitaller admiral on Rhodes. On 14 February 1412 the general council of the master (hereafter council) met under the presidency of Fr. Domenico d'Alamania, preceptor of Santo Stefano Monopoli (in Italy) and at the time lieutenant of Grand Master Philibert de Naillac, who himself was absent from Rhodes.¹⁴ At least another fourteen people were present including the draper, the lieutenants of the marshal and treasurer, four preceptors, one bailiff, the *piilers* (heads of the *langues* in the convent) of France, Germany and England and one other brother. Non-brethren were also present, including Dragonetto Clavelli, lord of the island of Nisyros and of Lardos on Rhodes, and Stefano Turturella, a judge of appeals on Rhodes, who was recording the proceedings.¹⁵

The identities of the accused are very difficult to determine, because all but one of the names were subsequently blacked-out. Still, the document contains sufficient information to establish that at the council meeting one Fr. Ludovico was accused of having repeatedly ignored summonses to answer charges of adultery. He was sent to the Castellania of Rhodes (see Figure 6.1) where he was to receive



Figure 6.1 The Castellania, Rhodes

Photograph © Simon Phillips

severe punishment in front of judges and other officials. Anthony Luttrell suggested, probably correctly, that this Fr. Ludovico was no other than Ludovico Vagnone, the Order's admiral at the time.¹⁶ This suggestion is based on a letter dated 11 December 1413 stating that the council had decided to expel the admiral from the convent and put him, and Fr. Jean Dangereux of the tongue of France, under arrest at Kattavia Castle in southern Rhodes.¹⁷ The document mentions no reason why Ludovico had been imprisoned, but it does record that the castellan of Kattavia had orders to show Ludovico no leniency and to prevent him from keeping with him any company other than his servant.

Whether the punishment of Ludovico Vagnone had anything to do with the case of adultery mentioned earlier is far from clear, although there are certain indicators which suggest that the crime for which Admiral Vagnone was punished may well have been adultery. First of all, adultery was grave enough a crime to deserve repudiation by the convent and imprisonment at Kattavia, an isolated castle at the opposite end of the island. Moreover, a close look at a negative image of the first blanked-out name in the proceedings of the February 1412 meeting (see Figure 6.2) reveals that it consisted of three words, which suggests a name and title and therefore a senior official.¹⁸

Because not all senior members of the Order had single-word titles, it is at least plausible that the title eradicated in this instance was indeed that of Admiral, especially because we know the name of the accused adulterer was Ludovico and that he was the only senior official with this name at that time. The closest alternative was the marshal from the *langue* of Auvergne, Luce de Vallins. Because Vallins is recorded in the Hospitaller documents either as Lucius (Latin) or Luce (French), he is unlikely to be identical with the accused, whose name is usually recorded as Ludovicus (Latin) or Loys (French).¹⁹ The second blanked-out word might begin with a 'V', which could stand for Vagnone, although this point is pure conjecture. Another problem with accepting that Admiral Vagnone was by the time of the February 1412 council meeting under suspicion of having committed adultery is that it begs the question why, on 22 October of the same year, he was appointed the Order's procurator on Cyprus.²⁰ Would someone under investigation for a serious crime such as adultery have been chosen to represent the Order in such a high-profile capacity? Was the appointment perhaps an opportunity to remove him from the scandal surrounding him on Rhodes? What can be said with some degree

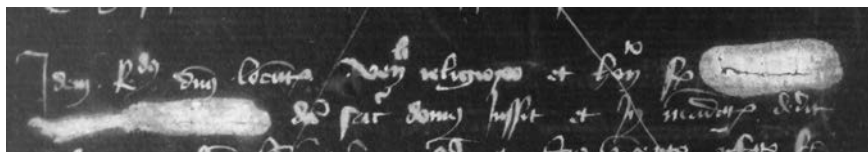


Figure 6.2 A Hospitaller brother's name is concealed, later referred to as 'Fr. Loudovico' in the same document. Malta, Cod. 339, f. 263v.

of certainty is that the three summonses and the decisions made at the two council meetings demonstrate that the Order viewed these misdemeanours with concern and would act on them. The Order was also able to forgive, however, as is suggested by the fact that the February 1412 entry in the proceedings had been crossed out and the names made unrecognizable. This must have happened for a reason, and it seems that a report by the lord of Nisyros, who had been present at the February 1412 council meeting, had something to do with the deletion of the details.²¹

The next case dates to the late fifteenth century and it concerns abuses ‘*contra naturam*’.²² On 11 October 1494 the grand master and the council met to discuss a case of sodomy involving a Spanish brother, Fr. Juan de Villagan, ‘*frater serviens armorum*’, and a priest of the Order at the hospice of St Catherine in Rhodes town (see Figure 6.3), Fr. Nicholas de Barro, who had previously been a professed member of the Dominican order at St Augustine’s on Rhodes. After being put under investigation for suspicion of criminal behaviour, Fr. Juan, by his own confession, was found guilty of having committed ‘unnatural’ sexual acts with Fr. Nicholas on six occasions, first in the vestry of St Catherine’s Church (see Figure 6.4), and later, at the instigation of Fr. Nicholas elsewhere.²³ After careful consideration the council concluded that, according to scripture and the law, the case was ‘*pessimi criminis nefandi et detestandi*’.²⁴ Therefore the council ordered



Figure 6.3 The Hospitaller Hospice of St Catherine, Rhodes

Photograph © Simon Phillips



Figure 6.4 The remains of what are thought to be St Catherine's Church, Rhodes, adjacent to St Catherine's Hospice

Photograph © Simon Phillips

the arrest and deportation to a secure prison of Fr. Nicholas who, however, by then already seemed to have suspected that this would happen and had gone into hiding.²⁵ The responsibility of securing his arrest fell to the admiral and brothers of the *langue* of Italy, who hoped to be able to detain him on his own. The responsibility to guard Fr. Nicholas' cell at St Catherine's also fell to the brothers of the Italian *langue*, in particular the admiral's deputy officer.²⁶ In order to execute the order, a master scutifer and two brother servants were dispatched to St Catherine's with the instruction to seize, arrest and incarcerate Fr. Nicholas at the earliest convenience and to guard him diligently.²⁷

The prior of the church of Rhodes, the treasurer and the grand master's senechal received commissions to make inquiries into and deliberate on the case of Fr. Nicholas. The commissioners called upon the notary Francisco to keep written records of the proceedings. These, in turn, were incorporated into the statutes and customs of the Order, which in the early 1490s were in the process of being revised. The commissioners agreed that, if necessary, torture should be used and that Fr. Juan should be brought before them to give his testimony.²⁸ The written confession of Fr. Juan, bearing his mark, was witnessed by the prior of the church of Rhodes in the presence of the council.²⁹

On 20 October, the commissioners announced their verdict before the council.³⁰ Fr. Nicholas was found guilty of sodomy, as was, by his own admission, Fr. Juan. In accordance with the Order's statutes and customs both were deprived of their habits and sentenced to solitary exile in Lindos Castle, where they were to suffer

deprivation and wither away in a confined prison.³¹ The procedure for arresting Fr. Nicholas and the punishment meted out to him and Fr. Juan are analogous to those recorded in the Templar rule as having been meted out to three Templar brothers at Château Pèlerin. Accused of caressing each other in their chambers at night, the three Templars were lured to Acre, where they were forced to remove their habits and put in heavy irons; then they were sentenced to spend a lengthy period in prison.³² The similarities between the two cases suggests that the military orders took a similar, if not a common, approach to dealing with sodomy: in the Hospitaller case of 1494 reference was made twice to abuses against nature and draws on support from Holy Scriptures; in the Templar rule it was noted that if a brother did anything against nature and against the law of God, he would face expulsion from the house.³³ In both the Hospitaller case of 1494 and the case recorded in the Templar rule, the convicted brothers lost their habit and were sentenced to prolonged periods of imprisonment.

It appears that sodomy was considered a graver sin and much worse a crime than adultery. In this the Hospitallers adhered to contemporary lay culture; one only needs to compare the executions of Hugh Despenser the Younger and his father to realize the disdain in which homosexuals were held. In addition to his punishment for treason, the younger Despenser was punished with castration for being a heretic sodomite who had engaged in illicit sexual acts, even with King Edward II of England.³⁴ The Hospitaller brothers Nicholas de Barro and Juan Villagan did not suffer the same horrific fate as Hugh Despenser, but their punishment was still harsher than that meted out on adulterers. The aforementioned admiral Vagnone, who was sent to prison in Kattavia in 1413 (whether for adultery, disobedience or some other reason), did not seem to have been suffering too much, as is suggested by the fact that eventually measures were taken to make his imprisonment more unpleasant. Once he had served his sentence (if indeed the sources are referring to one and the same incident), his name was erased from the records to protect his anonymity. In contrast, there is no indication that any redemption was possible for the less influential brothers Barro and Villagan, or that their sin could be allowed to be forgotten. Instead of having their names erased from the records, a note of the affair was added to the chancery archives for future reference.³⁵ In this case, the Hospitallers were following their statutes, which stated that sodomy was a sin for which a brother lost his habit in perpetuity.³⁶

The last case, this time from Cyprus, dates to the early sixteenth century. On 12 August 1512 the grand master informed Fr. Francisco de Constanza (prior of the Hospitaller church of St John in Nicosia³⁷) in writing that Fr. Peter de Jullioliis (who is in other sources described as being from Cyprus),³⁸ ‘*maligno spiritu ductus et sue professionis immemor*’, allegedly had ravished and deflowered Magdalene, the young daughter of Zacerus of the Hospitaller *casale* of Aracapas in the diocese of Limassol.³⁹ This had happened in such a violent manner that Zacerus had appealed to the state authorities on Cyprus, which in turn put pressure on the Order not to trivialize the attack so as to ensure that such a serious crime and terrible deed would not go unpunished. After solemn consultation the council commissioned Fr. Francisco to summon Zacerus, Magdalene, and at least some of her relations, as

well as Fr. Peter, whom he was to interrogate under oath in order to establish whether he really had committed the crime of which he stood accused. In this case, too, the judicial proceedings were to be recorded by a notary public and a sealed copy of them sent to Rhodes. Thereafter, if the accusations should prove to be valid, Fr. Francisco was under authorization to deprive Fr. Peter of his habit, privileges, possessions and titles.⁴⁰ In that case, Fr. Peter was to appear in person before the grand master and the council to answer the accusations. Both parties would be allowed to state their case and afterwards the council would make a decision on which one should be believed. If Fr. Peter remained obstinate, however, and disregarded the order to appear before the council, then Fr. Francisco was to proceed with the judgement, and following this, to enforce the sentence.⁴¹

Unfortunately, there are no further records of the incident, and we do not know its outcome; the published records in the Venetian archives concerning Cyprus do not shed any light on the case.⁴² It seems, however, that Fr. Peter was relatively new to the Order, with the first mention of him as a brother in December 1508.⁴³ By November 1511 he was administrator of the *casale* of Agrokipia (SW of Nicosia), which was a branch of the bailiwick of Tseri (which was in turn part of the Grand Preceptory of Cyprus).⁴⁴ It is possible that Peter had been at Aracapas on business when he allegedly attacked Magdalene. What we do know is that he survived whatever consequences the incident carried for him. He is mentioned as a professed brother in Hospitaller documents dating from June 1515 and July 1516⁴⁵ and again recorded as administrator of the *casale* of Agrokipia on 30 May 1518.⁴⁶ Be that as it may, as in the previous two cases, although this time with pressure from Venice, the Order considered the incident important enough to commission an inquiry and issue detailed instructions on how to proceed. Unlike in the previous two cases, which were played out on Rhodes, this incident occurred in Venetian controlled Cyprus, which meant that extra care needed to be taken for the Order to be seen doing justice.

The aforementioned three cases provide us with some information about the administrative procedures of such enquiries. It appears that brothers accused of criminal acts were both summoned and questioned and that they had the right to explain themselves. Special officials were selected for the task of conducting the enquiry and, if necessary, other officials were appointed for the task of apprehending and guarding the accused. This was followed by a period of closed consultation, after which the inquirers presented their conclusions to the council, which made the final decision. A sentence was pronounced, and punishment was enforced. If an appeal failed, those found guilty were sent to an isolated place, presumably to ostracize them and to allow the incident to be forgotten. Attempts also seem to have been made to limit bad publicity affecting the Order. Fr. Ludovico, the brother accused of adultery, was to be punished, not, however, in front of the general public, but in front of trusted judges and officials: Stefano Turturella, who is mentioned in the first case, is noted in Hospitaller records as a judge ordinary, but

clearly was no ordinary judge. A judge of appeals in 1410, Turturella was sent to Cyprus on Hospitaller business in October 1412 with Admiral Vagnone and the grand preceptor of the convent; in August 1413 (by then a judge ordinary and criminal), he again travelled abroad on Hospitaller business, this time to Venice, among other places. In April 1417, Turturella attended the Council of Constance as special envoy together with Grand Master Naillac.⁴⁷ Turturella clearly had a very close working relationship with the Hospitallers, to the point that he could be described as an employee or servant of the Order. He was certainly a person who could be trusted not to divulge Hospitaller secrets. Similarly, Dragonetto Clavelli was clearly more than merely the lord of Nisyros and Lardos. He was involved in financial transactions on behalf of the Order, appeared at council and voiced his opinion there on matters relating to the Order.⁴⁸

It is to be expected that some Hospitaller brothers did not adhere to the rule of their order and broke their vows. This is especially true for the convent on Rhodes, where, despite a wall, there was no real division between the convent and the town; in fact, non-brethren are known to have lived and worked within the convent's enclosure. On Malta the convent at Birgu was separated from the rest of the town only by markers, whereas no physical separation existed between convent and town in Valletta. Brothers who lived away from the convent and worked in close proximity to the lay population must have faced even greater temptation to go astray. Nevertheless, it is apparent that during the Hospitallers' stay on Rhodes, the Order attempted to ensure that the rule was observed, if only to protect the good name of the Order. It took action against serious offenders, following a formal enquiry that involved senior brethren, including the cases being discussed in council, as well as involving lay judges or notaries. Thus the moral standards of the Order were upheld, all the while the Order acknowledging that members might, on occasions, go against their mores and yield to human nature.

Notes

- 1 A. Luttrell, 'The Military Orders: Further Definitions', in A. Luttrell, *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West* (Aldershot, 2007), II, p. 5.
- 2 Luttrell, 'The Military Orders: Further Definitions', p. 10.
- 3 *CH*, I, no. 70, pp. 62–8. My thanks go to Maroma Camilleri of the National Library of Malta for sending me a photograph copy of the Rule of Raymond de Puy. See J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 46–52 for an in-depth discussion of the Rule.
- 4 *CH*, I, no. 70, pp. 64–5.
- 5 *CH*, I, no. 70, p. 66; III, no. 4295, p. 674.
- 6 *CH*, III, no. 3844, p. 452; See also J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100–1310)* (Paris, 1904), p. 32, and see comments in J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070–1309* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 123–4.
- 7 See A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Early Written Records', in A. Luttrell, *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West* (Aldershot, 2007), III, p. 147. In the same article, see Luttrell's comment on p. 153 n. 81, and A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Early Statutes', *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. t. 14 (= t. 75) (2003), p.10, for the shortcomings of the 1357 Latin version of the Rule published in *CH*.

- 8 *CH*, I, no. 70, p. 63. The Old French text in *CH* reads: 'Encores quant il seront en iglise ou en maison, ou en autre leu auquel femes soient, gardent lor sapience en fyée, ne femes lavent lor testes, ne lor piès, ne facent lor liz. Nostre Sires, qui habite es siens sains, les garde en ceste maniere.' For an approximate English translation, see *The Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers 1099–1310*, ed. E. J. King (London, 1934), p. 21.
- 9 *CH*, I, no. 70, pp. 64–5, where the French text can also be found. A rough English translation offered by the writer is: 'And if any brother, may it never happen, driven by sin shall fall into fornication, if he sins in secret, he shall do secret penance, and impose upon himself suitable penance; if on the other hand it is known for certain and public knowledge, then in the same town where the deed was carried out, on the Lord's day after mass, when the people have gone from the church, let him be stripped in the sight of all, and beaten hard by his master or by someone who his master commands, flogged and beaten with thongs [i.e. corrigiae] or rods, and driven-out from our company; afterwards if God enlightens his heart, and he returns to the house of poor, and shall confess himself to be guilty and a sinner and a transgressor against the law of God, and shall promise amendment, he should be received and during an entire year have the status of a stranger, and in this interval the brothers should see whether he be satisfactory, and afterwards take action that seems good to them'.
- 10 *CH*, I, no. 70, p. 63. The Old French text in *CH* reads: 'Item nule chose soit faite en touz lor movemenz laquele offende le regart d'aucun, mais qui demoustre lor sainteté.' See also *The Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers*, p. 21.
- 11 A broad examination of how the Hospitallers dealt with breaches of their rule and statutes is beyond the bounds of this chapter.
- 12 H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 95.
- 13 Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 94; A. Luttrell and H. J. Nicholson, *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 33; A. Luttrell, 'Margarida d'Erill, Hospitaller of Alguaire: 1415–1456', in A. Luttrell, *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West* (Aldershot, 2007), XXII, pp. 219–49.
- 14 Malta, Cod. 339, fols. 263^v–4^r. The document is dated 'Anno a nativitate domini millesimo iii^c xi et die 14 Februarii' [i.e. 1412] by modern reckoning, given that the year started on 25 March.
- 15 Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 263^v, 'Et ego stephanus torturella iudicem appellationum rodidi'.
- 16 A. Luttrell, 'The Spiritual Life of the Hospitallers of Rhodes', in A. Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and Its Western Provinces, 1306–1462* (Aldershot, 1999), IX, p. 78.
- 17 Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 283^r.
- 18 Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 263^v.
- 19 Cf. Malta, Cod. 339, fols. 122^v, 263^v and 283^r.
- 20 Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 122^v, printed in *Documents Concerning Cyprus from the Hospital's Rhodian Archives: 1409–1459*, ed. K. Borchardt, A. Luttrell and E. Schöffler (Nicosia, 2011), p. 32.
- 21 Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 264^r.
- 22 Malta, Cod. 77, fols. 133^v–4^v.
- 23 Malta, Cod. 77, fol. 133^v.
- 24 Malta, Cod. 77, fol. 133^v.
- 25 Malta, Cod. 77, fols. 133^v–4^r.
- 26 Malta, Cod. 77, fol. 134^r. St Catherine's Hospice had been founded by Italian Hospitaller Fr. Domenico d'Alamania in 1391 and the Italian *langue* continued to be responsible for the Hospice, see S. Fiorini and A. Luttrell, 'The Italian Hospitallers at Rhodes: 1437–1462', in *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces*, XIX, pp. 215–16.
- 27 Malta, Cod. 77, fol. 134^r.

- 28 Malta, Cod. 77, fol. 134^r.
- 29 Malta, Cod. 77, fol. 134^v.
- 30 Malta, Cod. 77, fol. 134^v.
- 31 Malta, Cod. 77, fol. 134^v.
- 32 *RT*, pp. 297–8, translated in *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, ed. J. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 148. Thanks are due to Helen Nicholson for drawing my attention to this Templar incident.
- 33 *RT*, p. 297 (translated in *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 148): ‘se frère faisoit contre nature et contre la loi nostre Seigneur, il en perdroit la maison’.
- 34 *Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, ed. S. Luce, Société de l’histoire de France, vol. 1 (Paris, 1869), p. 34.
- 35 Malta, Cod. 77, fol. 134^v, ‘Nota qui dicte inquisitionis sunt in archivis cancellarie ad futuram memoriam.’
- 36 *CH*, III, no. 3844, p. 452. Article nine of the 1283 Statute states: ‘*Hii sunt casus, propter quos fratres societatem domus perpetuo perdunt. Sequitur pars tertia: Primo, si fratris heresis fuerit nota. Item, si ipse se transferat ad Sarracenos. Item, si (quod) ipse sit sodomita probatus.*’
- 37 Malta, Cod. 401, fols. 238v–9r.
- 38 Malta, Cod. 81, fol. 113, ‘fr. Petru Giluili ciprius’; Malta, Cod. 404, fol. 222v, ‘fratri Petro de Juliolis cyprio’.
- 39 Malta, Cod. 401, fol. 239^v.
- 40 Malta, Cod. 401, fol. 239^v.
- 41 Malta, Cod. 401, fol. 240^r.
- 42 There is no mention of this case in the published Venetian documents concerning Cyprus, see *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας από το Κρατικό Αρχείο της Βενετίας*, Τομος Β (1509–1517), επιμ. Αικατερίνη Αριστείδου (Λευκωσία, 1994).
- 43 Malta, Cod. 81, fol. 113r.
- 44 Malta, Cod. 401, fol. 232r.
- 45 Malta, Cod. 404, fol. 222v, 22 June 1515, ‘fratri Petro de Juliolis Cyprio nostrum ordinis professo’; Malta, Cod. 405, fol. 212v, ‘fratri Petro de Iulliolis cyprio nostri ordinis’.
- 46 At that time he seems to have been on Rhodes, however, as on the next day he received permission to go to Cyprus and manage the *casale*. Malta, Cod. 407, fols. 224v–5r, 31 May 1518, ‘fratri Peter de Luliolis administrator casalis de Agripia’.
- 47 *Documents Concerning Cyprus from the Hospital’s Rhodian Archives*, pp. 8, 35, 49, 67.
- 48 *Documents Concerning Cyprus from the Hospital’s Rhodian Archives*, pp. 3–4, 35.

7 Ad celebrandum divina

Founding and financing perpetual chantries at Clerkenwell priory, 1242–1404

Nicole Hamonic

On 22 October 1371, the Hospitaller Grand Master Raymond Berengar wrote to John Dydalton, prior of the church of Clerkenwell, to express his disapproval with the declining number of secular chaplains and clerics serving the priory church.¹ Five chaplains celebrated divine services where there should have been fifteen, causing complaints among the magnates who had allocated funds for their support. Berengar ordered Dydalton to increase the number of chaplains and clerics to avoid imminent scandal. He also reminded Dydalton that the prior of England had the authority to punish, castigate, and strip him of his office should he neglect to carry out his orders.

Grand Master Berengar's letter reveals two conflicts present in the English branch of the Hospitaller Order in the fourteenth century. The first conflict – the failure to maintain a suitable number of secular chaplains serving chantries at the priory church – was a problem that afflicted the English priory for nearly two centuries and elicited more than one reprimand from the convent in the east. As we shall see, concern for this problem first appeared in 1242 and continued into the fifteenth century. The second conflict was the power struggle between the prior of England and the prior of the church at Clerkenwell (hereafter subprior), which derived from the assertion by the subprior that he was not under the authority of the prior of England.² This chapter will examine the founding and financing of chantries at Clerkenwell priory between 1242 and 1336 and will place the Hospitallers' failure to maintain a suitable number of secular chaplains thereafter, until 1404, within the economic framework of the fourteenth century.³ It will also examine the role of the subprior in England vis-à-vis the conventual prior in the east to determine why he attempted to assert his independence from the prior of England.

Brother and secular priests in the Hospitaller Order

Insufficient numbers of secular priests serving the Hospitallers was a problem for the entire Order, not just the English branch. The papal letter of 1154, *Christiane fidei religio*, formalized the practice of admitting priests into the Order, as brothers, who were subject only to the general chapter and the Holy See.⁴ A shortage of

brother priests in the Order from the last quarter of the twelfth century, however, necessitated the recruitment of secular priests to perform clerical duties. Papal permission for their use appeared as early as 1139 in the bull *Quam amabilis Deo*, and the Hospitallers' twelfth-century ordinances regularly made provisions for secular clerics serving their altars, singing post-mortem masses and anniversaries, and performing other liturgical duties.⁵ The growing demand for prayers by those professionally trained to intercede with God for the sins of humanity corresponded with the Hospitallers' need for more priests. The endowment of chantries in priories and preceptories appears as early as 1182 at Acre and was likely an attempt to address this shortage of priests.⁶ The Hospitallers' continued employment of these secular priests resulted in them living and serving in convents well into the thirteenth century. Indeed, the General Chapter of 1262 ordered those Hospitaller houses in need of priests to recruit them, provided the house could afford it, but the ordinances of 1265 mandated that any secular cleric must first produce testimony of his orders before he could serve the Hospitallers.⁷

Chantry foundations at Clerkenwell, 1242–1338

By 1242 four secular chaplains were serving chantries for the souls of certain benefactors at Clerkenwell priory in England, and a fifth was celebrating the mass of the Blessed Virgin. At the English General Chapter, Prior Thierri de Nussa established two post-mortem chantries in the church; one for the soul of Andrew Bukerel, former mayor of London, and one for the soul of Peter Elylond, former citizen of London, and all the faithful departed.⁸ Whether Prior Thierri took the initiative to establish these chantries himself or whether he was ordered to do so by the grand master is unclear, as no correspondence from the convent concerning the issue has survived. That the chantries were founded to address a particular problem is, however, explicit, as is shown in the charter for Peter Elylond's chantry. This document specifies that the purpose of the chantry, in addition to the spiritual benefits for all concerned, was to increase the number of secular chaplains celebrating divine services in the church from five to seven. Andrew Bukerel's chantry presumably raised the number to eight.⁹ The foundation charter for Mayor Bukerel's chantry is silent regarding the endowment and maintenance of the chantry, although the chaplain was expected to perform the mass of the Blessed Virgin under pain of excommunication. Peter Elylond's estate covered the initial cost of 160 marks (£106 13s. 4d.) for the endowment of two chaplains to serve in his chantry, and the Hospitallers pledged to support the chaplains thereafter with land set aside in Oxfordshire and Somersetshire, promising continued support of the two chaplains should the land ever be put to different use.

The chantries were expected to be perpetual, and the number of secular chaplains at Clerkenwell likely remained at eight through the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The authority to establish chantries resided with the prior of England, and he may have also been initially responsible for the appointment and management of chaplains serving therein. Reference to a subprior in England does

not appear until 1297, although the office may have existed earlier.¹⁰ Thereafter, he assumed the management and administration of chantries and chaplains in the priory church.

Three new chantries – one of which supported two chaplains – were established between 1325 and 1338. In 1325, John L'Archer, brother of the English Prior, Thomas L'Archer, and himself a knight of the Order, granted three stalls (*seldas*) in the suburb of London for the maintenance of a chaplain at Clerkenwell who was to perform divine services for his soul, the soul of his brother, and all the faithful departed.¹¹ A tenth secular chaplain was serving a chantry founded in the time of Prior Leonard de Tibertis (1331–1335) for the soul of William de Lavenham, although exact details of the foundation and endowment of the chantry have not survived.¹²

On 18 June 1336, the third chantry was founded at Clerkenwell for William de Langford.¹³ Prior Philip de Thame established the chantry at the Order's expense in recognition of all the 'innumerable benefices' William had given to the Hospitalers and the tenements he had granted in the parish of St Sepulchre without Newgate in London.¹⁴ The chaplain was to serve at the altar of St John the Evangelist next to the great altar, and he should stand in the eighth stall at the head of the choir from the south. In addition to perpetual sustenance at the conventual table, the priory treasury provided the chaplain with an annual allowance of 2 marks (£1 6s. 8d.) for his robes and any other necessities. He was to reside in a chamber built by William in the dormitory and was to be cared for as if he were a brother chaplain in times of sickness.

Admission of a suitable chaplain for William's chantry was at the discretion of the subprior, provided the candidate had been presented to, and approved by, the mayor of London. On 18 February 1348, Nicholas de Hales, subprior, admitted Henry de Heperton after he had been presented to mayor John Hamond.¹⁵ In fact, the entire chantry had been placed under the supervision and jurisdiction of the mayor. Founders of chantries may well have felt that the interests of a chantry, particularly one to which land was attached, would be better protected in perpetuity under the supervision of a 'perpetual' corporation.¹⁶ To ensure that the terms of the chantry were carried out accordingly, William granted to the mayoralty a quitrent of ½ mark (6s. 8d.) annually from his tenements in the parish of St Sepulchre without Newgate. A second chaplain was added to the chantry in 1337,¹⁷ whom William himself supported with £12 per year.¹⁸ He granted in 1337 an additional quitrent of 2 marks (£1 6s. 8d.) annually from land in the parish of St Agnes within Aldersgate, London, to supplement both of the chaplains' support, along with a message in West Smithfield to augment the lights in the church.¹⁹

According to the Hospitaller Report of 1338, Clerkenwell priory retained twelve secular chaplains in the church, which corroborates the suggestion earlier that the number remained at eight between 1242 and 1325, and then that four additional chaplains were added by 1338.²⁰ These men were in addition to the three priory chaplains (or brother priests) that were required at priories and commanderies throughout Christendom.²¹ Between 1338 and 1371, the Hospitallers allowed the number of secular chaplains serving chantries at the priory church to dwindle to

as low as five, when there should have been fifteen. Why? To answer this question, it is necessary to examine the Order's financial status in the fourteenth century, the stipends paid to the secular chaplains, and the impact of the Black Death on the clergy's population.

Hospitaller finances, chaplain stipends, and the Black Death

In 1338, the Hospitaller Order in England was only just recovering from an economic crisis that had lasted nearly three decades. The western provinces of the Order had principally borne the cost of the conquest of Rhodes in 1309, and the English priory borrowed heavily from the Florentine Bardi and Peruzzi merchants in London to pay its portion.²² Attempts to assume control over the Templars' possessions after their dissolution in 1312 exacerbated the financial problem. In 1327, Grand Master Héliion de Villeneuve sent Leonard de Tibertis, prior of Venice, to England as his lieutenant to assist the Order in its economic affairs. At the General Chapter in Montpellier in 1330, Leonard de Tibertis was formally appointed prior of England, and the English priory was allowed to pay the owed responsions over the next eleven years; 8,000 gold florins per year for the next nine years, and thereafter 16,000 gold florins per year for two years.²³ By way of comparison, the priory of France was to pay 41,000 gold florins before the next General Chapter in 1331.²⁴ Tibertis returned to England and continued to sort out the economic crisis, saving the English branch from complete economic collapse.²⁵ By 1338 the worst appeared to be over. One indicator of economic recovery was the large amount of beneficed ecclesiastical offices that were gifted by the order throughout England between 1343 and 1355. Some of these benefices were worth just under £27 per annum with the cure of souls, and just under £17 without.²⁶

Despite the stable economic footing from 1338 onwards, the Hospitallers were not very generous or competitive with the stipends they paid to their secular chaplains at Clerkenwell. The evidence is limited to 1338, and it is difficult to establish with any certainty the amount allotted to each individual chaplain. The annual revenue of 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) from Burnham church (Kent) was set aside for the robes, mantels, and other necessities of the subprior, his three brother chaplains, and the stipends of the secular chaplains.²⁷ The annual stipend for robes, mantles, and necessities for each preceptor and resident brother at preceptories throughout England in 1338 was invariably listed at £1 14s. 8d.²⁸ The subprior and his three brother chaplains presumably received the same amount (totalling £6 18s. 8d.) leaving £6 8s. for the secular chaplains' stipends. If we further assume that all twelve of the secular chaplains drew equal stipends, then each man received a mere 10s. 8d. per year. These figures remain speculative but nevertheless suggest that the Hospitallers were paying stipends that were hardly competitive with the minimum wage of 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) for priests legislated in 1287.²⁹ The Hospitallers did provide the chaplains at Clerkenwell with victuals at the conventual table, which would have been an important consideration. With such low annual stipends paid to secular chaplains, however, it is understandable why William de Langford

felt compelled to supplement the support of his chantry chaplains with additional quit-rents and properties.

If the Hospitallers were paying dismal stipends to their secular priests when the Order was on a sure economic footing, then what happened when the finances of the Order began to decline again? The first sign of renewed economic strain on the Order in England appears in 1355. The aforementioned gifts of benefices came to an abrupt end and do not appear again until the 1390s.³⁰ Pope Innocent VI urged Edward III in 1355 to assist the Hospitallers in obtaining pensions and dues from those refusing payment, a problem that recurred in 1374.³¹ The English Hospitallers had not collected the annual farm of just over £66 for the preceptory of Moray in Scotland between 1356 and 1363, and the money owed to the Convent for the defence of Rhodes was overdue.³² The situation intensified in 1373, when an assembly of Hospitallers at Avignon agreed to impose higher taxes on the western provinces for a *passagium* against the Turks.³³ In 1375 the English and Irish priories were ordered to elect and arm thirty-eight knights to send to Italy in 1377, and who were to be prepared to leave for the east.³⁴ The Hospitallers' western accounts for 1373–1375, prepared by the receiver general for the Order at Avignon, recorded that the priory of England had sent no money for aid in the east, although it is possible that the English branch, on account of the war with France, chose to send its contribution by way of Venice.³⁵ And finally, let us not forget the devastation inflicted on Clerkenwell during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, when the priory reportedly burned for three days.³⁶ The rebuilding and repair would have been costly and took decades.

This financial trouble was exacerbated by population decline and wage inflation caused by the Black Death. The high number of ecclesiastical benefices that fell vacant in the first outbreak between 1348 and 1350, then during subsequent recurrences, suggests that the mortality rate for the clergy in England was particularly high.³⁷ Episcopal registers and chronicles from the second half of the fourteenth century consistently reveal a scarcity of suitable, ordained priests in England who could perform divine services and administer the sacraments.³⁸ Papal dispensations allowing the ordination of men who did not meet the usual requirements of age, education, or legitimate birth became commonplace.³⁹ Lack of suitable priests after the Black Death was cited as the cause for the decrease of chantry foundations at St Paul's Cathedral from the mid-fourteenth century. The cathedral appears to have been suffering similar problems as Clerkenwell priory, with seventy chantries reported as vacant in 1370.⁴⁰ The bishop of London responded to the cathedral's problem with a major amalgamation of the chantries in 1391.⁴¹

The dramatic decline in the number of men suitable to serve as priests, meanwhile, resulted in driving up the wages of those who survived. Priests who had been earning the minimum wage of 5 marks legislated in 1287 began to demand as much as double their original salary.⁴² Rising wages and diminishing numbers of priests created an influx of clergy from the rural countryside into London in the 1360s and 1370s, where more money was available to pay the higher wages. According to William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, 'silver is sweet' in London, where a priest could 'sing masses there for simony'.⁴³ Langland's reference reflects

the restructuring of London's economy that had taken place in the 1350s and 1360s. The trend of higher wages, which resulted in an increase in the purchasing power of skilled labourers and artisans, coincided with a demand for English broadcloth overseas, which stimulated manufacturing and increased imports in London.⁴⁴ London's wool exports, meanwhile, rose to 52.5 per cent of the national total in 1353–1354.⁴⁵ After Edward III suspended London's franchise on wool exports in 1357, provincial merchants flooded into London, purchasing properties vacated on account of the plague, while grocers, exporters, and distributive traders helped to revitalize and repopulate the city.⁴⁶

The rural clergymen migrating to London hoped to advance their careers within the Church by acquiring more lucrative positions vacated on account of the plague.⁴⁷ In the 1360s, 509 priests were ordained in London, 68 per cent of whom came from outside the diocese.⁴⁸ In the 1370s, 598 priests were ordained, 74 per cent of whom were from other dioceses.⁴⁹ Any man about to be ordained to the major orders of deacon, subdeacon, or priest was required to present a title to either a religious house or patron to guarantee that his financial support was sufficient to maintain the dignity of his orders.⁵⁰ Between 1364 and 1373, seventeen secular priests presented titles for the Hospitaller prior at Clerkenwell at their ordinations.⁵¹ None of them possessed a benefice, nor were they Hospitaller brethren preparing to become brother priests, which suggests that they intended to be mass-priests or to serve private chantries.⁵² If the stipendiary evidence of 1338 is an indicator of how the Hospitallers remunerated secular chaplains when economic times were good, then the demand for clergy in London after the Black Death, and the exorbitant wages they commanded, likely resulted in the Hospitallers' inability to retain even those with titles for the Order. An example of an ordinand who produced a title to the Hospitaller Order, but does not appear to have ever served it, was William Furneux. At his ordination as priest on 21 February 1372, his title was for the master of St John of Jerusalem in England.⁵³ If he did serve the order at Clerkenwell, he did not do so for long. He was serving as chaplain at the parish church of St Mary Adlermanbury in 1379, and then, in 1381, at the parish church of St Mary Friday Street.⁵⁴

After Berengar's warning of 1371, it was not long before the Hospitallers in England were once again neglecting their responsibilities with regard to chantry foundations. In 1404, Grand Master Philbert de Naillac ordered Prior Walter Grendon to fulfil the promise of founding two chantries made by Grendon's predecessor, John de Radington (1381–1396), who died before he completed the task. A nobleman named Robert Nowell had paid a certain sum of money for the chantries, but they remained unfounded after Radington's death, re-igniting the grand master's concern. So that the chantries would be founded quickly, Naillac granted the English prior possession of the preceptory of Scotland with the right to mine sea-coal, as well as the village of Fenham, near Newcastle Upon Tyne (Northumberland), free from any responsions to the east, or any other burden. He also granted a quittance from the heirs of Robert Nowell. Both the letter of 1404 and that of 1371 state clearly that the money for the secular chaplains and chantry foundations had already been paid to the Hospitallers. The Hospitallers clearly chose to spend the funds elsewhere.

Overstepping authority: the subprior and prior of England

This brings us to the second conflict disclosed in Berengar's letter of 1371, namely the tense relationship between the subprior and prior of England. The letter provides only a fleeting glimpse at the conflict but reveals that John Dydalton had recently claimed that he was subject only to the grand master himself, and not to the prior of England, which was the reason for the decrease in secular chaplains and clerics at Clerkenwell priory church.⁵⁵ This was an odd statement, because the subprior was responsible for the Order's churches, clerics, priests, and liturgical accoutrements. It was also a claim that the grand master did not take lightly, considering his strong chastisement of Dydalton's bold assertion. The authority to establish the chantries resided with the prior of England alone, and one begins to suspect that the prior of England may have been interfering with Dydalton's attempts to manage the chantries and fill them with secular priests, prompting him to appeal to the grand master in 1371.

Dydalton's attempt to extricate himself from the prior of England's authority may also have had something to do with the unique position of the conventual prior in the east. Little is known of how the conventual prior obtained his position before 1310, but it has been suggested that the pope himself appointed the man to the position, or he at least had to be confirmed by Rome.⁵⁶ Although the office likely existed in the 1130s, he is first known by name in 1163, and his duties were defined in the customs *c.*1177 and the General Chapter of 1182.⁵⁷ Until the end of the twelfth century, the conventual prior held the highest position in the hierarchy of the conventual officials after the grand master.⁵⁸ He was responsible for all the Order's churches, its clerics and priests, and for all books, vestments, chalices, censers, the perpetual light, and all other ornaments of the church.⁵⁹ He had cure of souls at the central Convent, and the statutes of 1265 confirmed his right of presentation.⁶⁰ He was not appointed by the general chapter, and therefore was not answerable to it, but did hold an advisory role at the general chapter meetings.⁶¹ His unique position with regard to the other conventual officials is reflected in the fact that he possibly held the position for life rather than for a term of ten years and did not have to render an account during the annual general chapters.⁶²

The conventual prior had considerable autonomy in the east. He was a regular recipient of papal directives, was often used as an envoy to Europe, and largely existed on the periphery of the hierarchy of the convent.⁶³ In England, nothing is known of the prior of the church before 1297, and thereafter reference to his position is limited to a handful of documents describing properties and rents in London under his control, and Berengar's letter of 1371.⁶⁴ Dydalton may have viewed his position as subprior at Clerkenwell as a smaller western counterpart to that of the conventual prior. If so, his attempt to assert his independence from the authority of the prior of England and his claim to be under the authority of the grand master alone – just like the conventual prior in the east – begins to make more sense. Clearly the grand master did not agree with Dydalton. He chastised him for his audacity and threatened that if he did not hold the correct number of secular

chaplains and clerics at Clerkenwell and ensure that all divine services and canonical hours were sung, then the prior of England would punish, chastise, and correct him through suspension or removal from office altogether. Any aspirations for autonomy that Dyddalton envisioned for himself were therefore quickly quashed in 1371.

Conclusion

A few conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing discussion of chantry foundations at Clerkenwell priory. Concern for the number of secular chaplains appears as early as 1242, and attempts to raise the number of chaplains by means of chantry foundations occur until 1338. The evidence is incomplete but suggests that the prior of England either covered the cost of the chantry and maintenance of the chaplains from the priory treasury or supplemented the endowments made by the benefactors of the chantries. The low annual stipends paid to the chaplains, however, often necessitated further augmentation by the founders themselves. The stipends paid to the secular chaplains at Clerkenwell during stable economic times could hardly be considered competitive and, when economic difficulties reappeared, the prior of the Order chose to spend chantry funds elsewhere. This fiscal negligence undoubtedly placed the subprior in a difficult position and prompted his appeal to the grand master in the east. Although there is no doubt that chantry endowments at Clerkenwell probably lost their value as wages rose after the Black Death and inflation set in, particularly from the 1370s, one cannot escape the suspicion that the Hospitallers themselves were the problem, and chose to place secular affairs above the spiritual welfare of its patrons and benefactors.

Notes

1 BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, fol. 4v.

2 Ibid.

3 A chantry was an arrangement whereby the founder would provide for the support of one or more priests to celebrate a daily mass, at a specified altar, within a specified church. See K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965); K. L. Wood-Legh, 'Some Aspects of the History of Chantries in the Later Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series 28 (1946), 47–60; C. Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity: Perpetual Chantry Foundation in Late Medieval Bristol', in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY, 1991), pp. 1–32. A thorough and recent bibliography for chantries in England can be found in M.-H. Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St Paul's Cathedral, c.1200–1548* (Farnham, 2011).

4 *PUTJ*, II, no. 2, pp. 130–5.

5 Ibid., no. 3, pp. 159–62; *CH*, I, nos. 70, 504, 627.

6 *CH*, I, no. 646; III, no. 3039; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070–1309* (New York, 2012), p. 101.

7 *CH*, III, nos. 3039, 3180.

8 Nero E vi, fol. 3r–v; *CH*, IV, no. 2283bis.

- 9 Both charters include the phrase ‘...*accrescendo numerum capellanorum nostrorum de Clerkenwelle*’, but only the document for Elylond’s chantries indicates that the establishment of the post-mortem chantries will raise the number of chaplains from five to seven, Nero E vi, fol. 3r–v.
- 10 Nero E vi, fol. 30r–v.
- 11 *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward II, AD 1324–1327* (London, 1904), p. 199; S. Phillips, ‘Walking a Thin Line: Hospitaller Priors, Politics, and Power in Late Medieval England’ in *MO* 5, p. 220.
- 12 *The Knights Hospitallers in England: Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338*, ed. L. B. Larking (London, 1857), p. 96.
- 13 Nero E vi, fols. 3v–4r.
- 14 William de Langford’s relationship was complex and cannot be treated fully here. The ‘innumerable benefices’ would have included his occasional role as steward for the order, his assistance in the Hospitallers’ recovery of the New Temple in London, and various grants of land and rents in London. He also possessed a lavish and ample corrody at Clerkenwell. See N. Hamonic, ‘The Order of St John of Jerusalem in London, Middlesex, and Surrey, c.1128–c.1442: A Social and Economic Study Based on The Hospitaller Cartulary, British Library Cotton MS Nero E vi’ (PhD Thesis, Toronto, 2012), pp. 156, 160, 264–70.
- 15 Nero E vi, fol. 4r; *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: F: 1337–1352*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1904), p. 117.
- 16 Burgess, ‘Strategies for Eternity’, pp. 1–32; Wood-Legh, ‘Some Aspects’, pp. 47–60.
- 17 Nero E vi, fol. 33r–v; *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III, AD 1334–1338* (London, 1895) [henceforth *CPR, Edward III, AD 1334–1338*], p. 467.
- 18 Larking, *Report of 1338*, p. 96.
- 19 Nero E vi, fol. 33r–v; *CPR, Edward III, AD 1334–1338*, p. 467.
- 20 Larking, *Report of 1338*, p. 96.
- 21 Ibid.; J. Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050–1310* (London, 1967), p. 236.
- 22 *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward II, AD 1323–1327* (London, 1898), p. 545; A. T. Luttrell, ‘The Hospitallers and Their Florentine Bankers: 1306–1346’, in *Karrissime Gotfride: Historical Essays Presented to Professor Godfrey Wettinger on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. P. Xuereb (Msida, 1999), pp. 17–24 (repr. in A. T. Luttrell, *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306*, Variorum Reprints (Aldershot, 2007), item VI; E. S. Hunt, *The Medieval Super Companies: A Study of the Peruzzi Company of Florence* (Cambridge, 1994), passim, esp. pp. 134–9.
- 23 C. L. Tipton, ‘The 1330 Chapter General of the Knights Hospitallers at Montpellier’, *Traditio*, 24 (1968), 304.
- 24 Ibid., 301.
- 25 For a fuller treatment of the economic crisis between 1310 and 1338, see Hamonic, ‘The Hospitaller Cartulary’, pp. 27–30.
- 26 *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. W. H. Bliss and C. Johnson (London, 1897), III, pp. 104–5, 120, 142, 205, 215, 228, 261, 281, 349, 366, 415, 470, 486, 548, 570.
- 27 Larking, *Report of 1338*, p. 124.
- 28 Ibid., xxxiii, et passim.
- 29 *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols, ed. D. Wilkins (London, 1737), II, p. 147; H. G. Richardson, ‘The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: The Alexander Prize Essay, 1911–12’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Third Series*, 6, no. 3–4 (1912), 113.
- 30 *Calendar of Papal Registers*, IV, pp. 417, 424, 426, 459.
- 31 Ibid., III, p. 573; IV, p. 131.

- 32 Ibid., IV, pp. 3–4.
- 33 A. T. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Western Accounts', *Camden Miscellany XXX* (London, 1990), 4.
- 34 *Calendar of Papal Registers*, IV, p. 111.
- 35 Luttrell, 'Western Accounts', 7–9.
- 36 H. J. Nicholson, 'The Hospitallers and the "Peasants' Revolt" of 1381 Revisited', in *MO* 3, pp. 225–33. For a discussion of the conflicting reports on the destruction of the priory versus the priory church, see Hamonic, 'Hospitaller Cartulary', p. 56, n. 27. For recent archaeological excavations which revealed little trace of any damage, see B. Sloane and G. Malcolm, *Excavations at the Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, London* (London, 2004), pp. 91, 204–5.
- 37 H. A. Thompson, 'Registers of John Gynwell, Bishop of Lincoln, for the Years 1347–50', *Archaeological Journal*, 68 (1911), 128–34; H. A. Thompson, 'The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Century in the Diocese of York', *Archaeological Journal*, 71 (1914), 300–60; John Aberth, 'The Black Death in the Diocese of Ely: The Evidence of the Bishop's Register', *Journal of Medieval History*, 21, no. 3 (1995), 275–87; William Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1995); Putnam, 'Wage-Laws for Priests', p. 14.
- 38 *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337–1396*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford, NY, 1995), p. 103.
- 39 *Calendar of Papal Registers*, III, passim, especially pp. 331–2, 335, 383, 395, 468; Ibid., IV, passim, especially pp. 32, 37, 39, 41, 47, 56, 91, 191, 366.
- 40 Rousseau, *Saving the Souls*, 17.
- 41 Ibid.; *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II, AD 1388–1392* (London, 1902), pp. 421–2.
- 42 Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p. 103; *The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, A.D. 1327–1369: Part II, 1331–1360*, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph (London, 1897), pp. 1139–1140; J. E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, 7 vols (Oxford, 1866), II, pp. 576, 579.
- 43 *Piers Plowman: A Norton Critical Edition*, ed. E. Robertson and S. H. A. Shepherd (New York; London, 2006), p. 7.
- 44 J. H. Munro, 'Industrial Transformations in the North-West European Textile Trades, c.1290–c.1340: Economic Progress or Economic Crisis?', in *Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century*, ed. B. M. S. Campbell (Manchester, New York, 1991), pp. 114–15, 133–9; P. Nightingale, 'The Growth of London in the Medieval English Economy', in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England*, ed. R. Britnell and J. Hatcher (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 99–100.
- 45 *England's Export Trade, 1275–1547*, ed. E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman (Oxford, 1963), p. 48; Nightingale, 'Growth of London', p. 100.
- 46 Ibid., pp. 100–1.
- 47 Aberth, 'Black Death', pp. 277–8.
- 48 V. Davis, *Clergy in London in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 2000), p. 29.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 R. N. Swanson, 'Titles to Orders in Medieval English Episcopal Registers', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), p. 233.
- 51 *Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria, Diocesis Londoniensis A.D. 1362–1375*, 2 vols, ed. R. C. Fowler and C. Jenkins (London, 1916–1929), II, passim.
- 52 H. A. Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947), p. 143.
- 53 *Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria*, II, pp. 106, 108, 111.
- 54 *The Church in London, 1375–1392*, ed. A. K. McHardy (London, 1977), nos. 60, 188.
- 55 Nero E vi, fol. 4v; Sloane and Malcolm, *Excavations at the Priory*, p. 91.
- 56 Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, p. 338; Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 141. Jochen Burgtorf suggests that it is equally conceivable that he was elected by

the priest brethren of the central convent, and confirmed by the master: J. Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of the Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel, 1099/1120–1310* (Leiden, Boston, 2008), p. 194.

57 *CH*, I, nos. 627, 309, 312; Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, pp. 338–9; Burgtorf, *Central Convent*, pp. 329–30; Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 141.

58 Burgtorf, *Central Convent*, p. 230.

59 *CH*, I, no. 627; Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, 339; Burgtorf, *Central Convent*, p. 330; Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 141.

60 *CH*, III, nos. 4463, 3160; Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, p. 339; Burgtorf, *Central Convent*, p. 330.

61 Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, p. 340; Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 141.

62 Burgtorf, *Central Convent*, p. 211.

63 *Ibid.*, pp. 330–6.

64 Nero E vi, fol. 13r–15r.

8 Through the local lens

Re-examining the function of the Hospitallers in England

Christie Majoros-Dunnahoe

Even after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and its oldest and largest hospital there, the Order of St John of Jerusalem continued to fulfil its charitable mission by creating new hospitals in each of the subsequent locations it established itself in, first in Acre, then in Cyprus, Rhodes, and finally in Malta.¹ The number of hospitals for the sick in the Order's provincial holdings outside of the East, however, remains the source of some debate. In some cases it has been taken for granted that the Order built and maintained these institutions and that they would have been a fundamental aspect of Hospitaller activity in all of the Order's numerous properties throughout Europe, which extended as far west as Ireland.² However, it is difficult to identify large hospitals operated by the Order aside from their central convent (the few exceptions being institutions in large urban centres like Toulouse or Genoa), and this has, conversely, led to the dismissal of the possibility of a charitable function in the Knights' provincial holdings. Without a discernible charitable function the Order's western houses are seen to have then functioned almost exclusively as rent collecting properties, maintained only to raise funds, which were then sent to the headquarters of the Order. However, perhaps neither of these two descriptions – that the Order maintained a Hospitaller function throughout western Europe, or that the Order provided these services only at its central convent – is wholly accurate. It is possible that their common point of comparison, the nature and activities of the Order in its western houses versus what it was doing in the East, confuses the issue. The function of the western houses has in some ways been set against the organization and activities of the Order's earliest institutions in Palestine and weighed according to its similarities to this 'right' original form. In other words, the first Hospitallers in Jerusalem defined the function of the Order, namely that they would care for the sick and the poor. Houses in western Europe that seem not to have provided these services have consequently been regarded as failed opportunities for the Order to mimic its activities in the East, their actual function remaining largely unexplored.

This chapter suggests two ways in which Hospitaller properties can be studied in regions that seem at first glance to be lacking in 'true' Hospitaller charitable activity, in this case England. The first section will discuss the identification of hospitals belonging to the Order in England and examine the Hospitaller inventory of 1338 to uncover which other forms of charity and hospitality were offered in

the houses there. The second section will explore the usefulness of small houses and parcels of land with the aim of re-examining the extent of Hospitaller ownership and influence in the medieval English landscape and the role of the English brethren as absentee landlords. Placing these properties more firmly in their local context, rather than in comparison with the activities of the Order in the East, will result in a more nuanced picture of how the brethren of the Hospital functioned in the properties furthest from their administrative centre.

Hospitals

In their survey of medieval religious houses compiled in 1953, David Knowles and Neville Hadcock identified fourteen Hospitaller properties in England and Wales functioning as hospitals, a number that is strikingly low compared with the thirty-five Hospitaller hospitals identified by Aubrey Gwynn and Hadcock in their survey of medieval religious houses in Ireland, and overly high when compared with the complete lack of Scottish Hospitaller hospitals in the list compiled by Ian Cowan and David Easson.³ If taken at face value, the wide gap between these numbers could indicate differences in the degree of presence and function of the brethren in each of these locations. Indeed, the Hospitallers never held as much property in Scotland as they did in either England or Ireland, and it is entirely possible that the Order ran more hospitals in Ireland than it did in England and Wales. What is more likely, though, is that this discrepancy between numbers is indicative of the difficulty in identifying Hospitaller properties specifically and hospitals in general. Martha Carlin, in her article on medieval English hospitals, describes 'hospital' as a term encompassing not only those places which administered to the sick, but also leper houses, almshouses, and hospices for travellers.⁴ Compounding this confusion also is the issue of exactly the kind of people cared for at these various places and what assistance they could have hoped to receive. In many cases it is difficult to determine what the difference was between the poor, the sick poor, and the naked poor, or whether a house offered medical care to the sick and the injured or merely provided food and lodging. The sticky business of identifying medieval hospitals is made only more difficult when the Order of St John is added to the mix. A dedication to St John the Baptist or to the Holy Cross or Sepulchre is in some cases helpful in determining a Hospitaller presence, but this can be misleading as there is a frustrating proliferation of medieval institutions of various sorts bearing these names, the majority having had nothing to do with the Knights of St John. The Victoria County History volumes on Bedfordshire, for example, list four hospitals in their index, all dedicated to St John and under a Hospitaller heading, despite none of them having belonged to the Order.⁵ Similarly, a number of the thirty-five Irish hospitals listed by Gwynn and Hadcock seem to stem out of an erroneous connection between the Knights of St John and the *Fratres Cruciferi*, a separate order whose members' habits also bore crosses.⁶

The Hospitaller sources dealing with the Order's British properties tend not to mention hospitals. The extensive inventory of properties held by the English Langue compiled in 1338 by the Prior of England, Philip de Thame, mentions only

two *infirmaria*; one at Skirbeck in Lincolnshire and the other at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire.⁷ Skirbeck provided for the care and clothing of twenty poor in its infirmary, though it is important to note here that the wording of the entry for this house does not make clear that any of the *pauperes* were actually sick, only that they were needy and administered to from the infirmary:

Inde in expensis domus . . . xx. pauperum in infirmaria . . . Item pro indumento xx. pauperum infirmaria; videlicet, cuilibet pro uno garniamento ij s. vj d., et eorum cuilibet pro iij. canevas vj d. ob. et cuilibet pro uno pari sotulorum iiij d., et in focali pro eisdem secundum compositionem fundatoris ij s. iiij d., et sic suma iiij li. x d⁸

It is also worth mentioning that the infirmary at Skirbeck, though in some ways upholding the charitable ideals of the foundation of the Order, had been established not by the Hospitallers themselves, but granted to them by its founder Thomas Multon and administered according to his wishes: '*prout dominus de Multon fundator dicte domus ordinavit, et per bullas papales ordinationem suam fecit confirmari*'.⁹ This kind of arrangement in and of itself was not unusual. The Hospital of St Cross in Hampshire, for example, was in 1137 given to the Knights of St John, who were to provide care for 13 men in the infirmary and to feed another 100 daily, but in 1204, after a prolonged dispute over the management of the hospital, it was given over to the control of the bishops of Winchester, and hence it was not included in the 1338 report.¹⁰ What these arrangements suggest, then, is that at least some donors thought the Knights of St John were well-suited to maintain hospital-like institutions, and that the Order, for its part, seems to have been willing to take them on. However, this either happened more frequently before the inventory of 1338, with the properties being sold or lost before its compilation, or these gifts were the exception rather than the rule. Unlike the entry for Skirbeck, the entry in the report of 1338 for the preceptory at Chippenham makes clear that it was sick individuals that were being administered to in the infirmary. In this instance, though, the beneficiaries appear not to have been the sick of the general community, but rather the infirm brethren and servants of the Order: '*Inde in expensis domus . . . vij. fratrum et iij. servitorum in infirmaria; et aliquando plures fratres secundem quod fuerint infirmiri in prioratu*'.¹¹ Curiously, no other mention is made of infirm brethren in any of the houses other than Chippenham in the report of 1338. It is possible that Chippenham possessed a larger dedicated infirmary for the care of sick brethren that was not available in other houses in 1338, perhaps because of the diminished number of brethren inhabiting these properties.

The general lack of infirmaries in the report of 1338 in general is curious, but there are several entries which deal with the distribution of alms. In addition to the care provided in its infirmary, Skirbeck also made distributions to the poor from its hall, the numbers being so great that additional entries allow for the costs of dealing with the crowds there: '*Inde in expensis domus . . . et xx. pauperum in infirmaria, et xl. pauperum in aula, quolibet die . . . Custus turbarum per annum . . . xxj s. . . Custus unius carecte carande turbas pro focali . . . xx s.*'¹² The report

lists similar distributions at other properties: thirteen ‘*pauperes*’ were received each day at Carbrook in Norfolk and given a loaf of bread; the entry for the Order’s headquarters at Clerkenwell lists expenses for distributions of beans, meal, and peas to the poor on the day of St John the Baptist; and the house of Mount St John in Yorkshire also lists expenses for the distribution of alms, though in this instance no specifics are given.¹³

It is possible that other houses of the Order in Britain were engaged in similar charitable activities, but one would wonder why these expenses, if they existed in other houses, were not highlighted and emphasized in the inventory of 1338. One answer might lie in the possibility that the poor and the sick were included among the *supervenientes*, the arrivals, in the ‘*expensis domus*’ clause at the beginning of each entry, and that this would have been understood by the reader. The *supervenientes* might also refer to a number of other types of individuals not already included in the household of the preceptory, the *familia domus*. The entries for the preceptory of Ribston and Wetherby in Yorkshire, for example, identify the *supervenientes* as those travelling towards Scotland, individuals who may or may not have been poor but who required food and shelter at some point in their journey: ‘*Inde in expensis domus . . . et alia familia domus, una cum supervenientibus, quia plures sunt supervenientes, quia in itinere versus Scociam*’¹⁴ Houses bordering Wales also report expenses for the offering of hospitality to multitudes. The entry for Dinmore in Herefordshire identifies many arrivals to the Marches of Wales, and the report complains that the number of visitors was large enough to have been destructive to the house at Slebech in Pembrokeshire: ‘*Inde in expensis domus . . . et pluribus aliis supervenientibus de Wallia, qui multum conflunt de die in diem, et sunt magni devastatores, et sunt inponderosi*’.¹⁵ Hospitality seems to have been a function that was particularly important to the Order’s English houses in border regions, though the entry for Clerkenwell, the main preceptory of the Knights in London, also provided for the expenses of hospitality to travellers particular to its own region; namely for individuals from the king’s household and those conducting the business of the Order at the king’s court and in London:

*Et omnia ista onera predicta, et multa alia de quibus certa mentio fieri non potest, in supervenientibus causa hospitalitatis, et aliis de familia domini Regis, et aliorum magnatum regni Anglie, ac etiam preceptorum, fratrum, et eorum familie illuc venientibus pro negotiis in curia domini Regis, ibidem continue existentibus, et aliis rationibus in civitate London faciendis, morantur apud Clerkenwell, ad custagium preceptoris et domus quousque de negotiis suis fuerint expediti.*¹⁶

It is also possible that many of the travellers described in the 1338 report were pilgrims, travelling to one of the many shrines throughout the country such as Canterbury, Walsingham, or St David’s, or even perhaps bound for places abroad such as Santiago or Rome, and that pilgrims were assumed to be among the multitudes of *supervenientes*. Unfortunately, the Report itself does not specifically

mention hospitality for pilgrims, leaving this a tantalizing but ultimately speculative possibility.

The report's specific mention of charitable expenses at Carbrook, Clerkenwell, Chippenham, and Skirbeck might then be seen as a consequence of larger numbers of recipients (the crowds mentioned at Skirbeck), the need to demonstrate the fulfilment of an agreement (the terms of the Thomas Multon's grant at Skirbeck), a regular distribution (such as that at Clerkenwell), or the maintenance of institutions atypical to normal practice (the infirmaries at Chippenham and Skirbeck). The impression that the report of 1338 gives is that although at least some of the Hospitaller houses in England contained infirmaries, they appear not to have been used for the general reception of the sick in the same way as the Order's famous hospital in Jerusalem and in the manner provided for by the rules of the Order; in other words, the Hospitallers in England did not set up dedicated hospitals. Rather, they primarily provided hospitality for travellers and distributed alms at certain times in certain places.

The lack of Hospitaller hospitals in Britain appears unusual only if the Order's central hospitals are considered to be the model against which all other properties of the Order should be measured. If placed in an English context, the lack of dedicated hospitals seems rather normal. Carlin, using the roughly 1,103 'hospitals' identified by Knowles and Hadcock, cites only 112 functioning in this manner, and of these fewer than 20 were intended specifically for the sick.¹⁷ Furthermore, in those dedicated hospitals, she writes that there is little indication that they provided anything more than a warm, clean place to sleep and regular meals. There is no indication that medical professionals were regularly employed at the English hospitals, nor is the expense of medicines commonly given in the accounts of these institutions; this lack of medical care is mirrored in the leper houses, almshouses, and hospices of England as well.¹⁸ That the Hospitaller houses in England distributed alms to the poor rather than maintained hospitals to care for the sick is very much in keeping with the general trends of medieval English charity. While Carlin identifies 112 institutions as hospitals, she writes that a much higher number, 742, functioned as almshouses. Therefore of the 1,103 'hospitals' listed by Knowles and Hadcock, 67 per cent were in fact almshouses, whereas only 10 per cent were hospitals dedicated to the sick and injured.

Aside from the poor, the sick, and the itinerant, corrodians also benefited from the hospitality in the English Hospitaller houses. The report of 1338 lists corrody holders in nearly all of the larger houses, and their numbers are quite high considering the small number of brethren themselves, some 80 corrodians to 116 brethren listed in the report of 1338. These numbers suggest that over 60 per cent of those living in Hospitaller houses in 1338 (excluding servants) were not brethren but, in fact, corrodians. A corrody, whether bought or given in exchange for donations or services rendered, typically included food and lodging, and the particulars of these benefits varied greatly between houses and also between individuals in the same house. One might rightly wonder how the corrody might be viewed as a form of charitable hospitality if the Order received some benefit for providing them, and our hesitation in doing so might seem especially justified in view of the luxurious

nature of some of these arrangements, especially at places like Clerkenwell and Kilmainham.¹⁹ However, in his article on fourteenth-century corrodies, Richard Harper argued that they also often operated as a sort of extended pension system, rewarding faithful servants for their services by caring for them in their old age.²⁰ Indeed, at the end of the 1338 report there is a general summary which lists the number of corrodians and describes their occupations, which supports Harper's argument:

*Numerus Corrodiariorum, – unde quidam eorum sunt capellani qui deserviunt ecclesias, – alii senescalli, alii janitores, – alii messoris, qui diversa capiunt corrodia, prout continetur in cartis eorundem, et prout evidencius patet in bajuliis et aliis locis ubi habent certas moras suas. . . . ij^{xx} corrodiarii.*²¹

Other entries in the report of 1338 suggest that some of these corrodies may have been granted by the Templars and then taken over and honoured by the Hospitallers who acquired a large portion of Templar properties.²² It is also possible that these houses provided for temporary corrodians, who were individuals who did not take up permanent residence in the house and were therefore not itemized as regular expenses but could perhaps be accounted for among the expenses of providing hospitality to the *supervenientes*.

The fourteenth century saw the beginning of a drastic change both in the monastic communities of England and the ways in which they, and their donors and patrons, practiced charity. The Hospitallers living in the English priories at the time of the 1338 inventory were noticeably fewer in number as compared with other monastic orders which continued to maintain their communities until the Dissolution of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the ways in which they practiced hospitality are noticeably similar: in the distribution of alms, the housing of travellers, the maintenance of corrodians, and more specifically, their lack of participation in running dedicated hospitals.

The local lens

Unlike sources for charity, there is a substantial amount of material pertaining to land owned by the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England. The problem in this case lies in knowing what to make of it all. For example, if one wants to understand how the Hospitallers functioned in England, is it important to know that they owned one hide of land in the parish of Pulloxhill in the county of Bedfordshire, or is this knowledge useful only to scholars of very local history? On the one hand it does make a certain sense to concentrate primarily on the larger preceptories, as it was from these that most of the smaller holdings were administered, but what of the hundreds of small houses and parcels of land surrounding them? Is looking at these properties useful? Considered individually, these small holdings appear scattered, confusing, or perhaps somewhat insignificant. Viewed collectively, however, they reveal a landscape of ownership and influence in which the Hospitallers were heavily involved. This picture is highly relevant to

understanding the Knights of St John in England, especially in the absence of evidence for a more consistent charitable function such as the maintenance of hospitals discussed earlier. Here, the Order's property in the county of Bedfordshire is used as a case study to illustrate how a new consideration of piecemeal property might contribute to a wider understanding of how the Order of St John functioned in England.

If one were to look at a map of Bedfordshire concentrating solely on large Hospitaller houses, there would be one dot, in the north of the county, indicating the preceptory of Melchbourne. However, if the lens was expanded to include each of the parishes in which the Order held property in the county, the picture would look quite different (see Figure 8.1). In Bedfordshire alone, the Knights held some

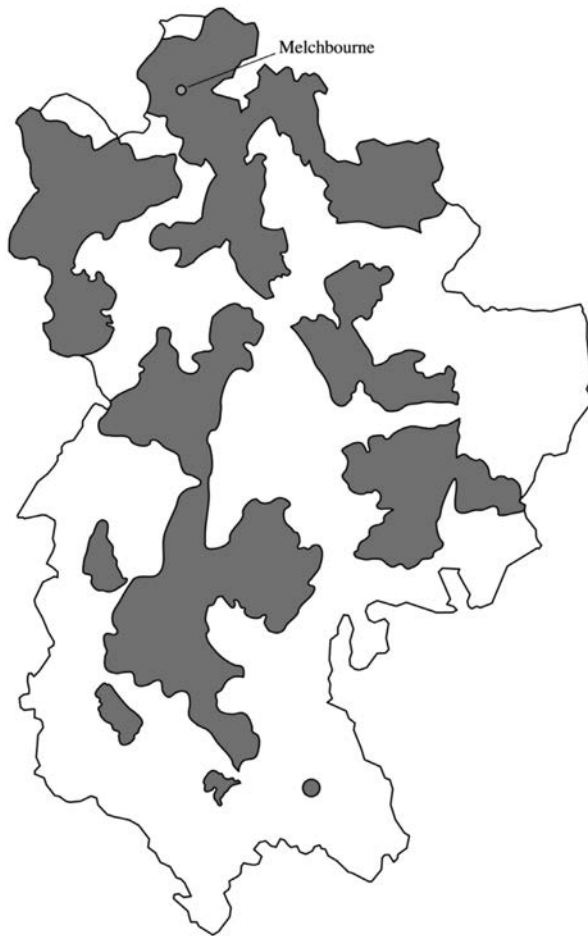


Figure 8.1 Map of Bedfordshire

sixteen manors and ten churches, the rights attached to these properties spread over forty-two parishes. Attached to these manors were other small parcels of land in which the Knights had tenants; this allowed them to claim landowner's rights in parishes where they otherwise had no substantial holdings. For example, the Order's claim to view of frankpledge in the parish of Pulloxhill was based on a holding of one hide of land which supported nine tenants.²³ The land itself was an appurtenance to the manor of Clifton, in the neighbouring parish of the same name. There were also isolated holdings, seemingly not attached to a larger estate, though of course all administered from the Order's large preceptory at Melchbourne. In some cases these holdings were quite small, although this appears to have made little difference to the Hospitaller's ability to claim certain rights. In the parish of Ravensden, the Prior's claim to view of frankpledge was challenged in 1287 and again in 1330 on the ground that he had only two tenants in this parish. In each instance, however, his claim was successfully defended, and the Order continued to hold property in this parish until the Dissolution in 1540.²⁴ The claim to view of frankpledge was not the only right enjoyed by the Hospitallers in the areas in which they owned land. The manor of Langford Rectory was granted to the Knights with the rights of soc and sac and toll and theam, furthering the judicial jurisdiction given to them by holding view of frankpledge.²⁵ The Order also showed an interest in the administration of the churches they owned, at least ten of them in Bedfordshire, through the possession of the advowson, or the right of presentation of a candidate for the post of parish priest.²⁶

Despite this insistence on claiming and defending rights of jurisdiction, it is reasonable to ask about the degree to which the brethren of the Order would have been able to involve themselves in the day-to-day running of these churches, the estates that belonged to them, or the courts that kept them in order. Although many of the Bedfordshire properties were acquired by the Hospitallers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it remains a point of some speculation as to how many brethren would have been in residence in this area. Certainly by the mid-fourteenth century, the answer would be not many. The report of 1338 shows very small numbers of brethren living in the larger preceptories. With few exceptions, the average tends towards two or three and the entry for the Bedfordshire preceptory of Melchbourne lists only a preceptor and two brothers. The implication of these small numbers is that although the Hospitallers were careful to demand their rights as landowners, direct involvement in the running of both the parish churches and manor estates must have been largely delegated to stewards and hired chaplains. The benefits to the Order for possessing these rights would therefore have been largely financial as court fees and church offices could both be quite lucrative. This, it would seem, brings the discussion full circle in supporting the argument that the English Hospitallers were primarily absentee landlords. Nevertheless, the possession of land and rights necessarily meant that the Order must have involved itself in the local community at least to some degree, and it is possible to see this interaction in Bedfordshire in a number of places. The Knights held a weekly market on Fridays and an annual fair on the vigil, feast, and morrow of St Mary Magdalene.²⁷ They held rights to bury suicides, which they employed a number of

times in Bedfordshire in the late thirteenth century, sometimes placing themselves in conflict with the Augustinian canons of Dunstable in doing so.²⁸ There is also evidence that although the numbers of brothers in Bedfordshire were small by the mid-fourteenth century, there was still a functioning community at Melchbourne at that time. In 1345 the Hospitallers found themselves involved in a suit with John le Barkere over their right to three gallons of beer from those who brewed and sold it. John refused to hand over the beer, so the prior took his horse.²⁹ The matter was eventually settled in the prior's favour, but it is important to note here the Hospitallers' interest in obtaining consumable goods. Though Melchbourne held only three brothers in 1338, the preceptory housed a number of other individuals: a chaplain, a key-bearer, a chamberlain, a cook, a baker, two grooms, a washerwoman, three corrodians, and a swineherd. The cost of food alone for the normal household, not including the additional £10 for the providing of bread for the *supervenientes* discussed earlier, was listed as being over £17, a not insubstantial amount when considering that the total amount listed for all the expenses at Melchbourne was just over £49. Hence it is understandable that the Hospitallers would have been interested in obtaining and pressing their rights to foodstuffs from their local community to help defray the costs of sustaining the household of the preceptory.

To conclude, this chapter has presented two brief examples which demonstrate how a change in perspective might benefit the study of the Order of St John in England. The identification of smaller properties belonging to the Order shows how numerous their communal obligations were and hints at a larger, perhaps more influential, Hospitaller presence than might be identified if our only point of concentration is the larger preceptories. This, in addition to a shift in focus towards viewing the English brethren within an English context, rather than in comparison with their eastern counterparts, especially in the case of charity, can only expand our understanding of the ways in which the Knights of St John of Jerusalem absorbed and adapted to the culture of those places far removed from its central convent and the ways in which these localities were moulded by their involvement.

Notes

- 1 For a more full discussion on large hospitals maintained in the East by the Order, see A. T. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291–1530', in *MO* 1, pp. 64–81.
- 2 A modern example of this persistent perception is the selection of the site of the seventeenth century Royal Hospital of Kilmainham near Dublin based on the assumption that the new hospital was being constructed on the foundations of the previous one. The new hospital with its dedicated care of the sick and wounded would have borne little relation to the medieval preceptory that preceded it and yet this equation of Hospitallers with hospitals allowed for the link to be made.
- 3 R. N. Hadcock and D. Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971), pp. 251–324; A. Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), pp. 346–57; I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London, 1976).
- 4 M. Carlin, 'Medieval English Hospitals', in *The Hospital in History*, ed. L. Granshaw and R. Porter (London, 1989), p. 21.

- 5 *A History of the County of Bedfordshire: Vol. 1*, ed. W. Page (London, 1904), pp. 396–403.
- 6 Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, pp. 346–57.
- 7 *The Knights Hospitallers in England, Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for AD 1338*, ed. L. B. Larking and J. M. Kemble (London, 1857), pp. 61, 78.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 61.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 *A History of the County of Hampshire, Vol. 2*, ed. A. Doubleday and W. Page (London, 1903), pp. 193–4.
- 11 Larking and Kemble, *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 78.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 60–2.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 82, 100.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- 17 Carlin, ‘Hospitals’, p. 25.
- 18 B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), p. 81.
- 19 William de Langford, corrodian at Clerkenwell in 1338, for example, was entitled to victuals for himself and his servants (at least three of them) either in the common hall or served in his own chambers, in addition to shoes and stabling for two horses and a regular supplies of candles and wood. (Larking and Kemble, *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 97.) For further information on high class corrodies at Kilmainham, see E. Massey, *Prior Roger Outlaw of Kilmainham, 1314–1341* (Dublin, 2000).
- 20 R. I. Harper, ‘A Note on Fourteenth-Century Corrodies’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 15 (1983), 95–101.
- 21 Larking and Kemble, *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 214.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
- 23 *Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I, II, & III: In curia receptae scaccarij Westm. asservata*, ed. W. Illingworth (London, 1818), p. 6.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 BL Cotton MS. Nero E. vi; *A History of the County of Bedfordshire: Vol. 2*, ed. W. Page (London, 1908), p. 235. Soc and sac refer to the right to hold and hear court cases and frankpledge gave authority over a group of men (a tithing) who stood as surety for each other in court. Toll allowed for the imposition or exemption of payment on the sale or movement of goods and theam guaranteed the right to trace the history of stolen goods and collect any court fees and fines produced by this process.
- 26 *A History of the County of Bedfordshire: Vol. 3*, ed. W. Page (London, 1912).
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 142.
- 28 *Annales Monastici*, III, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1864), pp. 260, 297–8. See also R. B. Pugh, ‘The Knights Hospitallers of England as Undertakers’, *Speculum*, 56:3 (1981), 566–74.
- 29 Page, *County of Bedfordshire: Vol. 3*, p. 143.

9 The use of the double-traversed cross in the English priory of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem¹

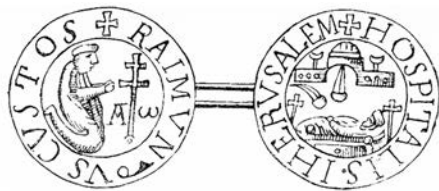
Anthony M.J. Lombardo Delarue

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the use of the double-traversed cross in the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem from the time of the Crusades to the present, with particular reference to the Priory of England. I shall take as examples its use on seals and buildings and in heraldic documents.

What do I mean by the term double-traversed cross? It is that shape which in heraldic terms is called the Patriarchal Cross and popularly since the Second World War the Cross of Lorraine. It is used by the Orthodox churches and features in the coats of arms in many of the Baltic countries, notably many most affected by the crusader routes.

The use of this shape by the Knights of Saint John goes back to the Order's very beginning and at least to 1113. The seal of Blessed Raymond du Puy (Figure 9.1) shows the master kneeling in prayer or adoration before the cross. It has formed the basis of the design of the seals of the Hospital, that is of the master, with only the most minor changes and refinement of design, until the loss of Malta in 1798.²

It is to me very interesting, therefore, that this cross should play a central place in the Order's symbolism, without entering into its general iconography. This, I believe, is partly due to the particular significance the double-traversed cross held for Knights of the Order of Saint John, and also partly, of course, due to the central place played by the eight-pointed cross in the spiritual life of the Knights, also from an early time. In many uses of the double-traversed cross, especially on seals,



Bolla di Raimondo du Puy
(da un atto del 1134, PAULI, I, 202 e tav. VIII, n. 1)

Figure 9.1 Seal of Blessed Raymond du Puy

it is employed in conjunction with the eight-pointed cross. In some examples, first seen in that of Master Gaston de Murols in 1169, and an early seal of the *Conventus*, the master's council of the Langues, and more clearly later on in that of Master Jean Fernandez de Heredia of the 1370s, the two crosses merge and the arms of the double-traversed cross are forked like the eight-pointed cross. We shall see this again elsewhere outside the Order.

What then is the significance of this cross? Firstly a brief word on its origin. The seal is described in early sources in the Order's statutes simply as an image of 'the master kneeling before the Cross'.³ Note it says only 'the Cross', without an adjective. Most writers seem to agree that the shorter, upper, arms represent Pilate's tablet '*Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum*'. Thus it is, in this age from before the later Western Gothic depiction of the suffering Christ, simply a representation of the Cross of Calvary with the Kingship of the triumphant Christ familiar from early Byzantine icons. In its use by the Order of Saint John, Our Lord's body is represented by the letters A and Ω, which flank the cross on nearly all the seals. On the seals of other personages, for example the seals of two bishops of Acre, these letters are often replaced with the sun and moon, which have a similar meaning of the eternal existence of Christ.⁴

I shall argue that the cross represents, for the knight of Saint John of Jerusalem, the sacredness and authority of the Holy Sepulchre, and is thus very specifically a symbol of Jerusalem itself.

After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, and throughout the Hospitallers' period on Cyprus and Rhodes (1291–1522), the double-traversed Cross was used widely on nearly all coinage and seals and, as I shall show, in other specific contexts. This may be seen in examples of Rhodian coinage from the collection at the museum of the Order of Saint John at St John's Gate in Clerkenwell, London.⁵

One of the earliest surviving images of the cross associated with the Holy Sepulchre is in a document in the Vatican, the fourteenth-century *Codex Urbinate Latinus*,⁶ which contains a drawing of the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, much as it appears today, surmounted on each dome with the double-traversed cross (Figure 9.2). In the context of the literal purpose of illustration in the mediaeval world, this must either represent crosses which actually stood on the roof of the church, or else the double-traversed cross was so widely understood to symbolize the Holy Sepulchre that the draughtsman used them as a sign to emphasize what he has drawn. As there are several crosses shown, I am inclined to think this is a factual representation of what he saw either in Jerusalem or in an earlier manuscript, rather than a symbol.

Looking again at the seal of the early masters of the Hospital, this time the reverse, as show on that of Raymond du Puy, we see the design remained virtually unchanged in general layout for the next 700 years. This image has been taken erroneously by some, even by Mario de Visser, in his seminal work on the seals of the Order of 1942, as a representation of the Holy Sepulchre, with Our Lord under the dome of the Church. In fact, thanks to a document existing among the statutes of the Order, dating most probably from the mid-thirteenth century, and now preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* in Paris, we know that it shows

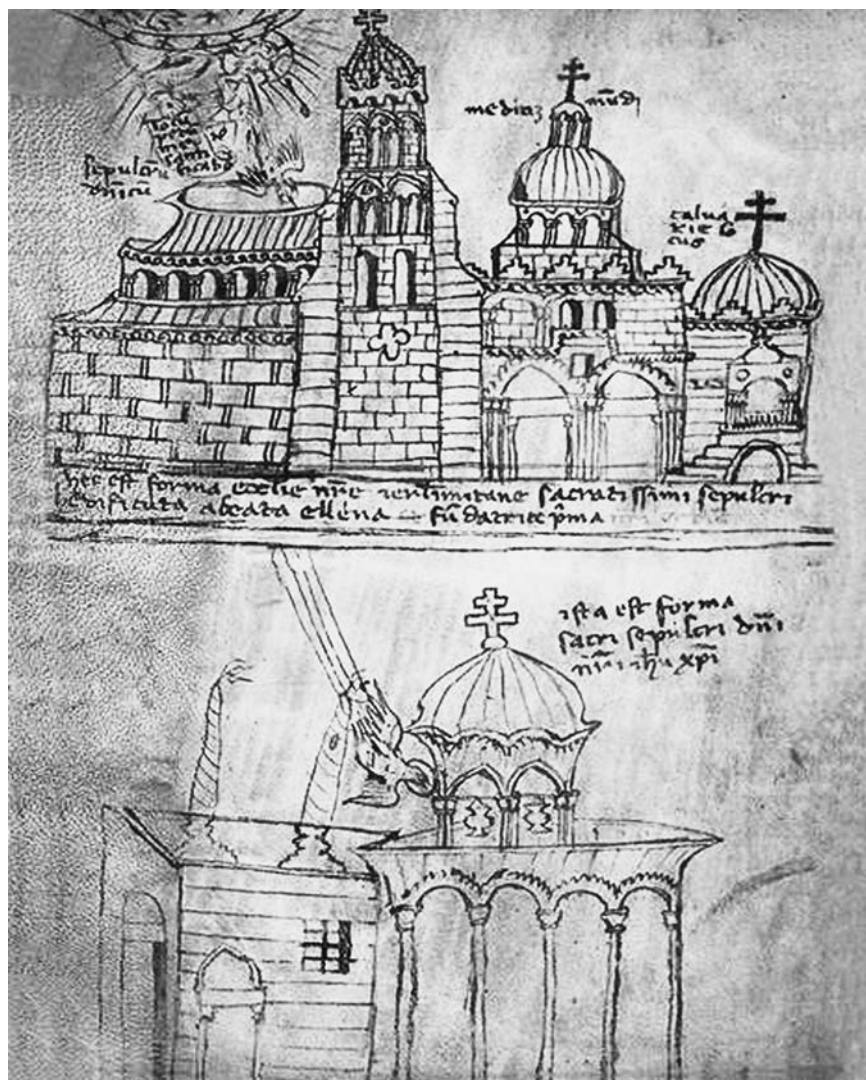


Figure 9.2 Codex Urbinatus Latinus – Church of the Holy Sepulchre

the body of a dead man lying before the tabernacle, ‘d’autre partie est l cors d’ome mort d’avant devant l tabernacle’. The image is thus a symbolic representation of the Hospital of Jerusalem, demonstrating to everyone who read the documents it sealed the correct attitude of the knight of Saint John to Our Lords the Sick and Poor. As it is for Mother Theresa of Calcutta, often the only possible work of mercy is ensuring dignity in death. There can be little doubt that this is the correct

understanding of the seal image, which shows a cross standing at the head of the dying body and an incense burner swinging at its feet, then as now the attributes of pious Christian death. Furthermore, the architectural iconography of the Hospital, with its three-arched tabernacle (for the use of which we have evidence in a thirteenth-century illumination in the Escorial), would have been familiar to the Knights.⁷ If there is a similarity between this image depicted on the seal and Our Lord in his tomb this would not, I suggest, have presented any confusion to the twelfth-century mind, as Hospitallers are to treat Our Lords the Sick as a type (*typos*) of Christ. In the later seals, the head-dress or cushion beneath the figure's head comes closer to resembling a halo on an image of Our Lord, and indeed by the fourteenth century one can see the crown of thorns on His head, as shown on the reverse of a seal of the *Conventus*.⁸ Nevertheless, we can say this remains for the knight of Saint John not an image of the Holy Sepulchre, but of a dead *Seigneur Malade* in the care of the knights, who represents the dead Christ. The legend surrounding the reverse, HOSPITALIS IHERUSALEM, reinforces this reading of the image.

It is indeed quite logical that the master should have a representation of the Hospital on his seal, given the Order's tradition of matching seals with offices. The statutes laid down literal iconography for the seals of many officers – the Marshal had a knight fully armed holding a gonfannon, the Hospitaller a sick man on a bed being fed by a brother, the Castellan of *Crac des Chevaliers* a castle, the Commander of Cyprus a vessel without masts or sails.⁹

By way of circumstantial evidence I should like to emphasize the point that the cross on the face of the seal is indeed a representation of the Holy Sepulchre. It would be unusual to have the same object represented on both sides of a seal. Having established that the reverse very probably, at least in its original intention, shows the Hospital, and considering too the character of crusader devotion to the Holy Sepulchre, the hypothesis that the obverse shows the master praying at a symbol of Our Lord's holy tomb remains very plausible.

What we see is that the master's seal was, in effect, also a representation of the twofold character of the Hospital: *Tuitio Fidei et Obsequium Pauperum* – devotion to the Faith of Christ on the obverse, care of the Poor and Sick on the reverse.

The obverse of the seal called that 'of the Grand Master and Convent' follows the same pattern as the master's, and shows a group of knights in habit, each with a cross, often eight-pointed, on his left shoulder, kneeling before the double-traversed cross. There are first seven, then later eight or nine, kneeling figures depicted on the seal, which are said to represent the different Langues.¹⁰

Let us look briefly at the use of this cross by other bodies connected to Jerusalem. Jean de Brienne, King of Jerusalem from 1210 to 1225, used it on his counter-seal, which, because he never reigned in Jerusalem, may be taken as underscoring his claim to the kingdom. Most unusual, in this case the cross is placed in the seal's inscription band, where one would normally find a simple Greek cross. As I have mentioned, the double-traversed cross also featured on the seals of certain bishops in the Holy Land. It was also used by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre¹¹ and worn by the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre in England on their habits. We see

two examples of habits from a French text of 1715; an English canon and a dame of the Holy Sepulchre, and a French canon of the Order of the Holy Spirit, also a Holy Land foundation, who wears the forked cross mentioned earlier.¹² It is interesting that the use of this double cross by the Order of the Holy Sepulchre has been nearly abandoned in favour of the cross anciently used also in the arms of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the cross potent between four crosslets, which is what nowadays we understand by the term 'Jerusalem Cross'. Later, in the advent of the age of heraldry, the double-traversed cross, sitting on Italian triple *monti*, was adopted as the arms of the Abbey of Monte Cassino, the mother foundation of the Order of Saint Benedict, from whence it has later spread to many places connected to that great order.¹³

I now propose to consider the use of the double-traversed cross in England. The early statutes laid down specific seals for a number of national priors: France was given an eagle between two fleurs-de-lys in green wax, Germany Saint John the Baptist in red wax, and Castile a castle in black, to name just a few.¹⁴ The Priors of England were not seemingly allotted a specific seal design in the statutes, and thus, in a long tradition of subordinate princes throughout history, assumed for the obverse of their seal the design of the seal of their superior, the master of the hospital. The early seals demonstrate a very standard design, although Prior Richard de Turc, making an exception, chose a vesica shape. The reverse of the seal of the Priors quickly became standardized as the head of John the Baptist, depicted face-on with no halo but with, as de Visser repeatedly observed, a lot of hair and beard. As de Visser tells us, the Patron's head was used elsewhere on the Order's later coinage but usually in half-profile and upon the dish. This image later became the main seal of the English Priory and remained so for 350 years until the suppression, with the obverse substituted with personal heraldic emblems. Its use has been revived since the re-establishment of the Grand Priory of England in 1993.

The point of interest upon which I wish to dwell is the support of the cross. During the Order's early period in Jerusalem the cross had no base, but it soon developed a little knob which, as was the case with the cross on the seal of Master Gerain de Montaigu, sometimes looked like a short spire as one might have on a roof. Later, from the fourteenth century, this became a little tripod, which sometimes looked like the base of a Byzantine candlestick, such as that on the seal of Nicholas de Lorgne. Generally, however, the support of the cross became a stylized shape like an uncial letter M, as seen on the seal of Master Jean de Villiers. Colonel Sir Edwin James King, a member of the Venerable Order and the author of an important study on Hospitaller seals, attributes to this a reference to the ancient legend of the skull of Adam. The legend tells that from a seed planted within Adam's skull grew the tree from which the Cross had been cut. The Cross was then planted on Golgotha into Adam's skull.¹⁵ There can be little doubt that this legend was known in Jerusalem, but whether the shape we see really shows Adam's skull is open to interpretation.

De Visser, while referring dismissively to this legend, interpreted the base of the cross among the English priors as representing the mound of Calvary, although he

also noted its gradual change to an architectural form, which seems to contradict this interpretation.

The seal of the fourth prior, Garnier de Nablous (1185–1190), deserves special attention. It stands out as being of a much higher quality than most of the other seals; here was a cultivated man who had evidently briefed his seal engraver carefully. Not only is the work more delicate, but we can also see below the cross quite clearly the domed roof of a church. I do not think it fanciful to suggest that this can only be a representation of the Holy Sepulchre, if only for the reason that it could not logically be anywhere else, and it is similar to representations of the Holy Sepulchre in earlier manuscripts. This interpretation is indeed supported by de Visser.

Uniquely, the cross on Garnier de Nablous's seal is not accompanied by the usual $\Lambda\Omega$ but by the legend '*SALVE CRUX SANCTA ABOR DIGNA*' in abbreviated form. De Nablous, by this variation, and in his various juridical acts, may be seen to demonstrate a strong religious awareness, and an awareness of his own high status as prior. It is, however, unlikely that he himself came up with the interpretation of the double-traversed cross as also symbolizing the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre. His seal survives on a document kept in the British Museum. It records the surrender of the hospital of St Cross to the bishop of Winchester, which was witnessed by King Henry II, Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem and Master Roger de Moulins.¹⁶

We also see the cross being used by some commanderies, Gosfield in Hampshire and Mayne in Dorset being two examples. It was also used by some high officers of the Priory and can be found, for example, on the seal of the Penitentiary. The cross was also used on so-called 'pardon crosses', small seals linked to indulgences, and according to Gregory O'Malley at Buckland Priory any tenant who 'failed to erect a double cross' on his house could be subjected to a fine in its courts.¹⁷

This leads us out of the worlds of seals to look at the other two uses of the double-traversed cross in England. It was natural to the mind of the crusading knight to wish to share his pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre with his family at home, who were prevented by age and station from accompanying him on his hazardous journey. This formed part of *Tuitio Fidei*. Thus the churches built at home, many dedicated to John the Baptist, were seen as places of pilgrimages as a substitute for the Holy Land, and no doubt, as O'Malley has recorded, the priors, as competitive mediaeval religious superiors, and their preceptors, were active in obtaining formal indulgences for their various major churches. The revenues from the churches were a significant part of the monies raised for the defence of Rhodes.

This desire to bring the pilgrimage home to England was by no means unique to the Middle Ages. The nineteenth-century Jesuits in particular exhibited a very similar spirit in building their Italianate churches, such as Saint Francis Xavier Hereford.

It was this desire to furnish the means of pilgrimage which gave rise to the building of round churches in the twelfth century, which were direct imitations of the Holy Sepulchre. Undoubtedly the finest of these churches is the priory church in Clerkenwell. The Church of Saint John the Baptist at Little Maplestead, though

small (and built in the fourteenth century), represents in its perfection this pilgrim spirit of the crusader knight. The Order of Saint John was not alone in this aspiration – the round church in Cambridge was built by the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, who I believe built others which have not survived, and the surviving Templar church in London, which of course later came into Hospitaller hands, is another, barely smaller than that at Clerkenwell. To those who imagine that religious differences are a modern invention I would say: look at these two churches, both were claimed by their builders to be the perfect representation of the Holy Sepulchre, both were built at much the same date, both were consecrated by Heraclius Patriarch of Jerusalem on his visit in 1185, and only a quarter of an hour's walk apart!¹⁸

What has this to do with our cross? There survives in Wiltshire, at the preceptory of Ansty, in a fine group of manorial buildings in the typical manner of the Order, a small church dedicated to Saint James, upon which the gable crosses have been restored from surviving examples, which are visible in a nineteenth-century water-colour.¹⁹ They are indeed double-traversed crosses (Figure 9.3). Here, I believe, we see a quite intentional reference to our pictures of the Holy Sepulchre. In the light of Dr O'Malley's recorded evidence referred to earlier ²⁰ it seems logical to assume that others among the Order's churches in England, if not all, shared this feature.



Figure 9.3 Photograph of St James's church, Ansty, Wiltshire

Photograph © Anthony Delarue

To attend Holy Mass in any of the Order's churches was to make a spiritual pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the knight among his household in his preceptory, retired from military service, living the life of a pious farming gentleman, would not, I think, have been unaware that every morning he walked to the altar, or aspired so to walk, in the footsteps of Blessed Gerard. Indeed, the liturgy in Hospitaller houses was based upon that of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, prayers for the master and Hospital followed every Mass, and the calendar of feasts was uniform throughout the Order.²¹

After the Reformation, although becoming nominally an Anglican church, Ansty remained in Catholic ownership and patronage, under the Lords Arundel of Wardour, who provided the stipends for the ministers until the nineteenth century.²²

If I am to be accused of romantic historicism, then at least I am in good company. In 1864, when Sir George Bowyer, one of the earlier nineteenth-century knights of Justice, built his church for the Order and Hospital in Great Ormond Street, he surmounted the gable with the double-traversed cross. When the church was dismantled and moved to St John's Wood in 1889, close to the site of a pre-Reformation manor belonging to the Order, the cross went with it, and is still there today. The church's dedication is to Saint John of Jerusalem, that is, Saint John the Baptist.

What then of the third use of the cross which I believe, from the documentary evidence available, to be peculiar to England?

For this I am grateful to Prince Arthur's book, the illustrated work produced to teach heraldry to Prince Arthur (1486–1502), son of Henry VII and elder brother of King Henry VIII, the man who would destroy the Order in this land a few years later. It contains a drawing of the banner of the Lord Prior Docwra. The manuscript in the possession of the College of Arms is not available reproduced in full, but another Tudor manuscript based upon it of the 1530s was transcribed in the nineteenth century and published by Lord Howard de Walden in 1901. It also shows Docwra's banner (Figure 9.4) and additionally includes the banner of Sir William Weston, the last prior of the Order in England before the Order's dissolution by Henry VIII in 1540, which is surmounted by a similar cross.²³

Here we see a most fascinating use of the double cross on banner poles as a symbol of the office of the Prior (it was used by no other officer), who was the legitimate superior of the Order in this land and thus the legitimate representative of the founder of the Order, and through him of Jerusalem, in England. It is fortuitous that in recent years it has been possible to restore this ancient custom on the finial on the banner-pole for the present Grand Prior of England, first used on Saint John's Day at the Brompton Oratory in the 900th anniversary year of the papal Bull establishing the Order, *Pie postulatio voluntatis*.

I wish to conclude this chapter with a puzzle. There is in the Ashmolean Museum a ring which was found in 1940 in the river Thames at Thame among a collection of secular rings and coins. It is made of gold and amethyst, of exquisite workmanship, and displays the double-traversed cross, cut from a single stone, and an

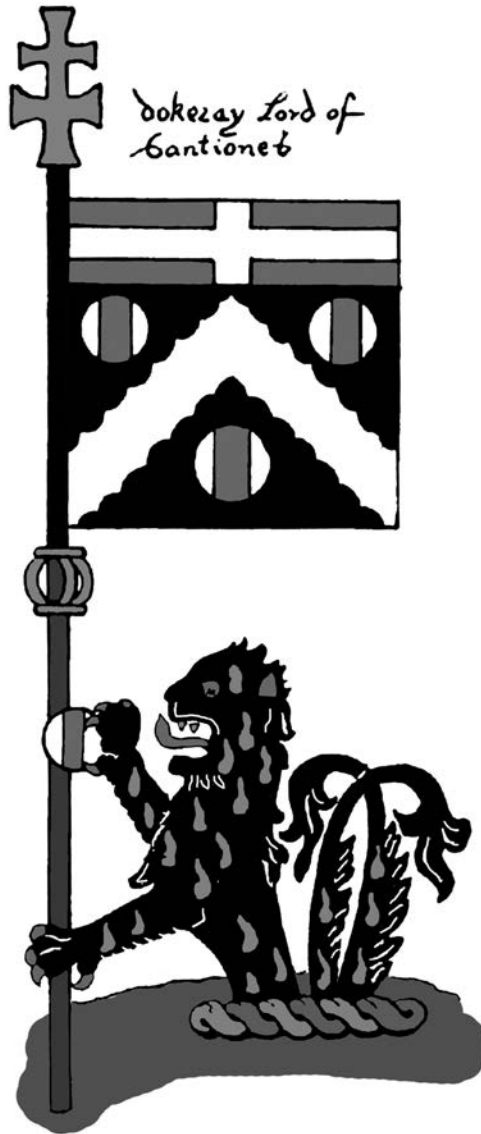


Figure 9.4 Prior Docwra's banner from a Tudor manuscript

inscription reading: '*Memanto [sic] mei Dominie [sic]*'.²⁴ The back of the ring displays a Rood, the Crucifix between Our Lady and St John the Evangelist. The ring opens to contain a relic, which would almost certainly have been a piece of the True Cross. The coins found with the ring are dated between 1351 and 1457,

so it seems likely that the ring was lost or concealed shortly after this later date, as the coins are very little worn.²⁵ Despite its religious character, this is very evidently not an episcopal or abbatial ring, as they are of a very specific type. Instead it would seem to have been made for a nobleman's use. It may well, of course, have been a pilgrimage souvenir, albeit a very grand one. However, as this cross was generally used in England by the crusader Orders, and as it was found in an area with several properties of the Order of Saint John, might it not seem reasonable to suppose that this ring might have belonged to a Prior of England of the Order of Saint John? Let alone (and rather romantically) that of Philip de Thame, who was a very active and politically astute prior from 1330 to 1358, so within the timescale of the coin hoard. We know from his unique and very artistic portrait seal,²⁶ in a classical style a century ahead of its time, that he was a man of keen artistic sensibilities. I do feel this merits further research.

To sum up, there has been, from the time at least of Blessed Raymond du Puy, the custom of using the double-traversed cross as an representation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the spiritual centre of the Order's early life, and this shape of the cross remained in certain contexts a symbol of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and of the spiritual authority, as represented by the Priors of England, of the master of the hospital.

Notes

- 1 I am grateful to the Count of Evora for providing the initial inspiration for this talk, in one of our many discussions on the heraldry of the Order; to Lord Talbot of Malahide for his information on Ansty, formerly in his family's ownership; to Pamela Willis, Curator of the museum at St John's Gate for her guidance on the seals; to Richard Berkley-Matthews, banner-bearer to the Grand Prior of England of the Sovereign Order, for his support and encouragement, and also for his motorcar and his driving skills on my tours of the southern preceptories. The errors are all mine.
- 2 Mario de Visser, *I sigilli del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta* (Milan, 1942), p. 22.
- 3 The inscription '*Ci di des Bulles que le Maistre et les autres Baillis del Hopital bullent*' is contained in a manuscript of the statutes of the Order of St John dating from the late thirteenth century. See J. Delaville le Roulx, *Notes sur les sceaux de l'Ordre de St Jean de Jerusalem* (Paris, 1881), pp. 15–17, cited in E. J. King, *The Seals of the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (London, 1932), p. 127.
- 4 De Visser, *I sigilli*, p. 32.
- 5 A.-M. Kasdagli, *The Rhodian Coins at the Museum of the Order of St John, Clerkenwell* (Athens, 2002).
- 6 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex 71 (*Codex Urbinatus Latinus*) (fourteenth century).
- 7 C. Humphery-Smith, *Hugh Revel, Master of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem 1258–1277* (Chicester, 1994), p. 6.
- 8 This shift in emphasis is consistent with the change in devotional practices during this period and the growth of devotion to the suffering Christ, which Eamon Duffy has eloquently described in *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale, 1992).
- 9 De Visser, *I sigilli*, p. 20.
- 10 Ibid., p. 90, quoting from Dellaville le Roulx, *Notes sur les sceaux de l'Ordre de St Jean de Jerusalem* (Paris, 1881) 'sono i rapresentanti eletti da ogni lingua per consigliare il Maestro.'
- 11 De Visser, *I sigilli*, p. 37.

- 12 R. D. Pierre Hélyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires, et des congrégations séculières de l'un et de l'autre sexe, qui ont esté establies jusqu'à présent* (Paris, 1714–1719), II, various plates.
- 13 M. F. McCarthy, *A Manual of Ecclesiastical Heraldry* (Sydney, 2005), p. 91.
- 14 De Visser, *I sigilli*, p. 20.
- 15 King, *The Seals*, p. 15.
- 16 See *Ibid.*, frontispiece.
- 17 G. O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460–1565* (Oxford, 2005), p. 96, fn. 50.
- 18 H. W. Fincham, *The Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem* (London, 1915), p. 47.
- 19 In the possession of the Parish of St James, Ansty, Wilts.
- 20 G. O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 96, fn. 50.
- 21 C. Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*, *Bibliotheca Victorina*, 16 (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 23, 118–19.
- 22 *The Donative of Ansty, A Reprint of a Correspondence in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal* (Salisbury, 1879), p. 5 (I am grateful to Lord Talbot of Malahide for use of what might be the only surviving copy of this document).
- 23 H. de Walden, *Banners Standards and Badges from a Tudor Manuscript* (London, 1904), pp. 54–5.
- 24 D. Scarisbrick and M. Henig, *Finger Rings* (Oxford: Ashmolean, 2006).
- 25 Online resource: <http://britisharchaeology.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/highlights/thame-hoard.html>.
- 26 King, *The Seals*, plate XIX.

10 The Templars' estates in the west of Britain in the early fourteenth century

Helen J. Nicholson

This chapter represents a progress report on my research into the Templars' properties in England and Wales, as recorded after the arrests of the Templars in Britain and Ireland and preserved in the UK National Archives at Kew.¹ The detailed descriptions of the Templars' properties drawn up when the Templars in England and Wales were arrested, combined with the accounts for their properties made by royal officials, permit a unique insight into agricultural practice, production and employment during the period 1308–1313, and into the operation of this religious order, its religious life and role in wider society.² The goal of this research is to publish the records for England and Wales (the records from Ireland were published in 1967),³ to make them available to all scholars with an interest in medieval estate records, but with the particular intention of establishing exactly how wealthy or poverty-stricken the Templars in England and Wales were in 1308, and what property the Hospitallers actually inherited in 1313. This chapter will consider the evidence from the Templars' property in the western extremes of Britain: in Herefordshire, Wales, Cornwall and Cumbria, to establish how they operated their estates, whom they employed and on what terms and their commercial and financial transactions.

The Templars held extensive possessions in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Essex, on the eastern side of England, but their possessions in the west of England, on the frontier with Wales and in Wales itself were much less extensive. In contrast to the Hospitallers, they had little land in south Wales and in Cumbria and no property in north Wales (for example).⁴ Little is known of the physical remains of Templar property in the west of Britain. At each of the locations to be discussed here, the site is still in use, with later buildings replacing or incorporating the medieval buildings. Only at Garway in Herefordshire have there been excavations in recent years, initiated by the landowner. The foundations of a hall have been found, and at least one of the mills may have been identified.⁵

The Templars' 'Inquest' of 1185 includes only one of these properties.⁶ Moreover, none of the inventories made at these properties when the Templars were arrested has survived. Yet it is possible to reconstruct some of the Templars' activities from the records made by the royal custodians of these properties, covering six years between the arrest of the Templars in January 1308 and the formal hand-over of the properties to the Hospitallers in December 1313. A complete run of



Figure 10.1 Location of Templar properties under discussion

accounts survives for Garway on the Welsh-English border in Herefordshire, from January 1308 to December 1313.⁷ At Upleadon, also in Herefordshire, only the accounts from January 1308 to 20 September 1310 survive.⁸ Only one account survives for Llanmadoc on the Gower Peninsula, in Glamorgan (Morgannwg), South Wales: this covers the period 10 January 1308 to Michaelmas 1308.⁹ For Temple on Bodmin Moor, Cornwall, there are summary accounts covering five years.¹⁰ For Temple Sowerby there is a single record, probably from 1309.¹¹ The king also had records made of the Templars' debts and of their ongoing obligations to holders of corrodies. These record a total of eight corrodies payable at Garway and at Upleadon, but none at Llanmadoc, Temple or Temple Sowerby (see Figure 10.1).¹²

It appears reasonable to assume that after these properties were confiscated by King Edward II's officials the royal custodians – at least in the first year – operated the estates in the same way that they had been operated by the Templars. The royal

custodian's accounts from Garway state that in the final year the custodian handed over much of the stock and cash to the king and his faithful servants, but – at least initially, while the outcome of the proceedings against the Templars was uncertain – the custodians would probably not have wanted to change any of the Templars' procedures.

Income, expenses and personnel

Garway

The Templars had received a manor at Garway before December 1188.¹³ In 1308 it had dependent hamlets of Harewood, Saint Wulstan, Llanrothel and Cauros (probably Great Corras farm) and property in Hereford.¹⁴ The sheriff's and keeper's accounts for Garway indicate that in 1312 the manor reaped 20 acres of hay and 644 acres of grain and had income from water mills at Garway, Harewood and Radekyr (the latter two in poor condition), from gardens at Garway, Harewood and St Wulstan and from a dovecote at St Wulstan.¹⁵ The Templars also held the parish church at Garway and chapels at Harewood and at Newton (probably Welsh Newton near St Wulstan), where they received the tithes. They also received pleas and perquisites of court.¹⁶ The Templars' church at Garway was subject to visitation by the archdeacon of Hereford.¹⁷

Two Templars had been living at Garway manor in January 1308: Philip of Meux, knight (and commander), and William of Pocklington, neither of whom had been in the Order long: Brother Philip had joined in June 1304 and Brother William in September 1306.¹⁸ There were also four corrodians: a chaplain, two clerks and a servant. In 1308 the house employed a woodward (suggesting a large area of woodland within the estate), a harvest overseer, twelve ploughmen and twelve drovers who led the plough animals, two carters, a master shepherd and stockman, twelve other shepherds, a cowherd, a porter, a *garcio* (a 'lad' or 'boy') who made potage for the *famuli* or farm workers, a keeper of the garden and four women who milked the ewes.¹⁹ In addition to potage, the *famuli* were paid for some work, such as harvesting, threshing and winnowing. Wages were expressed and paid in cash.

The main income of the manor came from rent from the free and unfree tenants (from year three onwards the accounts specify that the labour services had been commuted to an annual cash payment), production and sale of grain, including peas (although much was consumed by the farmworkers in potage, or by the farm stock) and the raising and sale of cattle and especially sheep; there was some wool production, and hay was produced but was consumed by the manor's own stock in winter feed. The produce of the gardens and dovecote produced some income, and there was also income from the sale of milk, butter and cheese and (in the first year) bacon. The most numerous livestock were sheep, with 452 wethers, 480 ewes and 347 lambs in stock in the first year.²⁰

Table 10.1 summarizes the income and profit in each year of the royal administration of this estate.²¹ The first year covered only the nine months from January to Michaelmas 1308, and the final period covered only three months, from

Table 10.1 Income and profit for Templar houses in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, South Wales and Cornwall, 1308–1313

	1308 (nine months)	1308–1309	1309–1310	1310–1311	1311–1312	1312–1313	1313 (three months)
Garway							
Income	£87 5s 2½d	£166 1s 9½d	£170 10s 3½d	£169 5s 6d	£137 8s 10½d	£118 18s 7½d	£61 0s 3½d
Profit	£31 13s 7½d	£81 7s 9½d	£104 19s 11¾d	£118 4s 6¾d	£80 13s 11¾d	£62 5s 8d	£49 1s 10¾d
% income	36%	50%*	61%*	70%*	59%	52%	80%
Corrodies paid	£19 11s 7d				£20 1s	£20 1s	58s 8d
Upleadon							
Income	£80 18s 4d	£102 1s 7¾d	£96 3s 6¾d				
Profit	£38 16s ½d	£40 17s 6¼d	£55 5s 8¼d				
% income	48%	40%	57%*				
Corrodies paid	£7 10s 0d	£11 5s 0d	£12 13s 1d				
Hollecrombe							
Income		21s 2d	£7 11s 6d	£10 18s 9d	43s 4d		
Profit/(loss)		(76s 1½d)	(13s 3½d)	£5 8s 8d	32s 10d		
% income		(362%)	(9%)	50%	77%		
Broughton							
Income		£10 19s	£17 12s 5¾d	£16 5s 6¼d	26s 2d		
Profit		69s 8½d	£12 16s 3¾d	£12 16s 6¾d	19s 3¾d		
% income		32%	77%	81%	73%		
Lawerne							
Income		78s 11d	£17 12s 6d	£14 0s 23½d	30s 10d		
Profit/(loss)		(15s 8d)	£6 7s 1½d	£4 17s ½d	(5s 6d)		
% of income		(20%)	33%	35%	(18%)		
Temple, Bodmin Moor							
Income	0	48s	58s 9d	51s 1d	5s 9d		

*No costs of corrodies were charged against profit in this year.

Michaelmas to December 1313. Garway manor appears to have made a good profit of at least 50% of income in every year.

Upleadon

The Templars received their manor here, next to the village of Bosbury, from William Marshal in 1217–1219.²² In 1308 the manor had just one dependent hamlet, at ‘Hasele’. In the summer of 1308 the workers there reaped 80.5 acres of hay and 460 acres of grain. There was a watermill, a dovecote and garden. As at Garway, the Templars received pleas and perquisites of court, but they did not control the parish church as they did at Garway. There were two Templars arrested at Upleadon in January 1308: Thomas de Tholosa, commander, and Brother Thomas le Chamberleyn, his *socius* or aide. The first Thomas was a knight who had joined the Order at Pentecost in around 1267. He was commander of Ireland in 1292 and commander of York in 1301–1302 and was mentioned by one of the non-Templar witnesses from the county of York in terms indicating he was a man of influence. The second Thomas had joined the Order in 1301.²³ There were also four corrodiaries, including a chaplain and a servant, and in 1308 the house paid cash stipends to a servant in charge of the plough teams and threshing, a harvest overseer, twelve ploughmen and twelve drovers who led the plough animals, a carter, a porter, a cowherd and a *garcio* (variously a cook or a dairyman in year two) who made potage for the servants during the time of account. In year one there were stipends for two harrowers and wages for their assistant, and in the last eleven weeks of year two (1309) there was a granger. In year three (1309–1310) there was no servant in charge of the plough teams or harvest overseer and only five men holding the ploughs and five leading the plough teams, but there was a gardener, and wages were paid to manor servants.²⁴ Again, the *famuli* received potage and were also paid in cash for some work, such as harvesting, threshing and winnowing.

The manor’s main income came from the sale of grain, from the customary services commuted into cash payments and from the rents of assize paid by the free and unfree tenants. There was also income from the mill, from the dovecote and garden and court fees. In the first year 33s were received from the sale of four barrels of cider (this is still a cider-producing area), the milk from six cows and the sale of bacon and animal carcasses. Hay was produced but was consumed by the farm stock rather than sold. The most numerous farm animals were the oxen, although fewer than at Garway (thirty-seven at Upleadon as against sixty at Garway, and there were no sheep. This manor relied on grain production rather than livestock.

Table 10.1 summarizes the income and profit in each year of the royal administration of this estate.²⁵ The first year comprised the nine months to Michaelmas 1308. On 20 September 1310 the manor was entrusted to Margery de Braose, and no further accounts for the manor appear in the roll.²⁶

In the first and second year, while the estates were being administered by Walter Hakluyt, sheriff of Herefordshire, Garway and Upleadon were accounted for together. In July of the second year, responsibility for the administration of these two commanderies was passed to John de la Haye, who was also responsible for

administering the lands confiscated from Walter Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. John de la Haye's accounts include income from the Templars' manors in Worcestershire: Lawerne (now Temple Laugherne to the west of Worcester), Hollecrombe (now Hill Croome),²⁷ and Broghton (Temple Broughton farm on Harman's Hill, Hanbury, near Broughton Green).²⁸

The Worcestershire manors, also called hamlets,²⁹ were small properties, with similar stock and produce to those in Herefordshire but on a smaller scale. Their accounts give an insight into the management of the Templars' smaller estates away from the frontier, where no Templars had been resident. So, for example, Hollecrombe in year two had income from production of grain, a dovecote and pasture; in year three there was also income from sale of underwood. There were expenses for maintenance of two ploughs and employing two ploughmen and drovers to lead the plough animals and a maid (*ancilla*) to make potage for the *famuli*.³⁰ There were wheat, peas, oats and 'mixture' in the barn and two draught horses, sixteen oxen and a cow, and a few pots and pans. At Broghton the Templars held the farm of a mill and there was income from a garden, pasture and underwood. The main income was from rents of assize from free tenants and the commutation of the customary services, but there was also income from pleas and perquisites of court and from tenants in 'Arleye'. Employees included a carter, four ploughmen and a maid; there was also mention of a reeve and a woodward.³¹ Grain and animal stocks were similar to Hollecrombe. Accounts for Lawerne cover only the last eleven weeks of year two, and years three to six. They show similar sources of income and expenses and similar employees, with a woodward employed with two ploughmen and drovers, potage being made for the farm labourers and general maintenance costs. Income included 8s from servile 'works' which had been commuted, the sale of underwood, herbage, hay and garden produce, sale of grain from the mill and pleas and perquisites of court.³² As Table 10.1 shows, only Broghton, with most of its income from tenants, made a consistent profit; the income and expenses from the other two manors fluctuated wildly between profit and loss from one year to the next.

In Worcestershire a bailiff was employed in the last eleven weeks of year two and in years three, four and five to administer the manors of Lawerne and Hollecrombe, at a cost of 1½d per day, plus a stipend of 10s per year.³³ This may have been an attempt to impose effective management in response to the fluctuating income and expenses in these manors.

In sum, Garway was a sheep-producing area, whereas Upleadon and the Worcestershire manors produced grain. Upleadon produced some cider and milk; Garway sold some dairy produce, including cheese, but no cider. On all these manors labour services were commuted. Farm workers were employed and supplied with potage but were also paid in cash for some tasks, and some specialized workers were paid cash wages. Corrodies were used to pay chaplains, clerks and servants.

Llanmadoc

The church, vill and land at Llanmadoc in the Gower, *cum omnibus pertinentiis in bosco et in plano, et in aquis, et in via et extra via*, had been given to the Templars

by Margaret, countess of Warwick, in 1156, and approved by her underage sons Henry, Robert and Geoffrey de Newburgh.³⁴ The sheriff's accounts for Llanmadoc state that in 1308 the Templars had sixty-three acres of arable land at Llanmadoc, worked by unfree tenants, fifty-two acres in demesne, and seven acres of meadow, in addition to pasture and a water mill. They had rights of advowry over the parish church and received pleas and perquisites of court.³⁵

In 1308 no Templars were arrested at Llanmadoc in the Gower, and there were no corrodiaries. There were free tenants, tenants at will and cottars, who paid 35s 2½d rent during the period from January to Michaelmas 1308. 12s were paid by tenants in Kidwelly, a town to the north-west of Llanmadoc, beyond the River Loughor.³⁶ Most of the labour was performed by eleven unfree tenants performing labour services, but one man was paid a regular wage to provide transportation.

The crops grown at Llanmadoc were wheat, barley, peas, beans and oats. The accounts indicate that the largest crops by volume were barley and oats, but wheat and barley were greatest in value. There were also twenty-four cattle of various ages and four horses (three pack horses and one colt). There were no sheep and so no wool production at Llanmadoc, and there were no sales of bacon, butter or cheese, although the custodian did sell the hides of cattle which had died. The mill, pasture and meadow also produced income.

In the first nine months after the Templars' arrest, the manor's profit after allowable expenses was £11 18s 3½d (see Table 10.1).³⁷ In this period, profit was 86 per cent of income.

Temple, Bodmin Moor

This was the Templars' most westerly house in Britain, which they had already held in 1185.³⁸ There were no Templars resident in January 1308, and no income was received before Michaelmas each year. The annual rent from the tenants was 31s 4d, there was 13s 4d profit from the farm of the chapel after the chaplain had been paid, and some court fees and fines. The total income after five years was just £8 3s 7d. Here there was no mention of tenants working on the demesne or of any wages being paid, and there was no stock and no income from wool or the sale of produce.³⁹ It appears that at this remote English house the Templars had leased out the whole property and – unlike at Llanmadoc – did not retain any of the land as demesne.

Table 10.1 summarizes the income in each year of the royal administration of this estate.⁴⁰

Temple Sowerby

The Templars obtained their property at Temple Sowerby in Westmorland in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁴¹ An inventory of this property survives, dated Thursday next after the feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the year has been lost, but is probably 1309.⁴² This was part of an inquiry into the lands and

goods of Walter Langton, bishop of Lichfield and the Templars, throughout the realm.⁴³ The jurors reported that the bishop held nothing here, but the Templars at Temple 'Soureby' had property – regrettably the document has been badly damaged and the left half of the document has been destroyed, but it is clear that the property included a water mill for grinding grain, worth at least ten marks a year, to a total value of £7 3s. There was also another property which included a messuage and two acres of land, worth in all 18*d*; apparently this was rented out. There were at least twenty-seven tenants holding land and paying annual rents variously of 7*s* 6*d*, two shillings, or a sum ending in 12*d*. Given that the bulk of the document is taken up with the list of tenants, this appears to be a house where, as at Temple in Cornwall, the land was mainly leased out to tenants. Although there were no Templars at Sowerby in January 1308, it appears that two of the Templars at Temple Thornton, Brother Michael of Sowerby and his *socius* Walter of Gadesby, had previously been at Sowerby. Michael of Sowerby was *custos* of Thornton and commander of Sowerby; he had joined the Order in 1290, whereas Brother Walter had joined only in May 1307.⁴⁴

Profitability

The figures set out earlier indicate that Garway commandery produced a profit of at least 50 per cent of income in all but the first nine months that the manor was in the king's hands. Upleadon was less profitable; for the years where accounts are available, profit was around 40–48 per cent. The data from south Wales and Cornwall indicate that these estates were also profitable; of the Worcestershire estates, only Broughton was consistently profitable year on year. However, these figures are not necessarily representative of the period when the Templars operated these estates. The accounts do not mention if any household servants were laid off when the Templars were arrested. Any regular charitable giving was omitted: in 1338, the Hospitallers recorded that they were spending substantial sums on accommodating travellers at Garway, but no costs were recorded for this in 1308–1313.⁴⁵ The Templars' own living expenses may have been higher than the 4*d* a day that was charged to their accounts after their arrests, and even this expense ceased during year two, when the Templars were transferred to London for trial.⁴⁶ In addition, expenses which would have been met out of the expenses of each commandery were now paid from income from a number of commanderies: in year two all the corrodies for both the Herefordshire commanderies were included with the expenses of Upleadon.⁴⁷

It is clear that some long-term investment was not being made during these years: at Garway, at least one dovecote went out of use in 1312,⁴⁸ leaving just the dovecote at St Wulstan, and in year six the mill at Harewood was in such bad repair that it made no profit.⁴⁹ At Upleadon, the number of ploughs in operation dropped from twelve in 1308 to five in 1309–1310. Nevertheless, on these figures the Templars should have been relatively wealthy during the first decade of the fourteenth century, and it is easy to understand why contemporaries were unable to comprehend their constant appeals for additional funds.

Commerce and financial transactions

On 31 December 1308, King Edward II sent out instructions to all his sheriffs to find out what debts had been due to the Templars at Christmas 1307, that is, just before the arrests. The sheriffs of Cornwall, Westmorland and Worcester each replied that he had investigated and that no one had owed the Templars anything.⁵⁰ No record has survived from the sheriff of Glamorgan. The sheriff of Herefordshire, Walter of Hakluyt, reported a variety of debts.⁵¹ Walter Caperon owed Brother Thomas *de Tolouse*, commander of Upleadon, 9 marks of silver for oxen sold to him. Roger Bacon owed Brother Thomas 10*s* from the most recent accounting period (*pro arr[enda]’ ulterim’ compoti sui*) from the time when he was Brother Thomas’s collector (possibly of rents), and Thomas de la Hull owed 5*s* in silver. Roger de la Stoue of Stoke Laci owed Brother Thomas *de Tolus* 10*s* from a loan. Henry of Lancaster owed Brother Philip 20*s* 8*d* for a loan, and Ewan ap Meur’ owed 4*s* in silver *pro linis ab eodem emptiis* – for linen cloths bought from him. These debts indicate that there was a small number of commercial transactions and money lending by the Templars in Herefordshire, where there were brothers present: but that this was not a major part of the Templars’ activities here. In areas where no Templars lived, the Templars apparently did not make loans or sales.

Conclusion

The evidence discussed earlier reveals the Templar estates in Herefordshire and the western extremes of England and Wales as profitable concerns, which employed men and women for specific tasks such as carter and cook and also as farm labourers. The Templars also employed a small number of skilled men, chaplains, clerks and some household servants through the corrody system. Overall there were very few Templars in proportion to a large number of support staff. Crops grown and animals raised varied from area to area depending on what was most suited to local soil and climate, but everywhere the Templars also received rents from their tenants. The Templars were flexible in how they operated their estates: in Herefordshire they kept some land in demesne and administered it directly themselves, and in South Wales there was some land in demesne worked by unfree tenants, but the Templars also leased out land; this may also have been the case at Temple Sowerby in Cumbria. At Temple in Cornwall, which was distant from any Templar administrative centre, their land was entirely leased out to tenants. In Worcestershire, a bailiff was employed by the royal custodian to oversee the running of two manors; it is unclear whether the Templars had also employed a bailiff, but it would have been a reasonable way of administering these manors where no Templars were resident.

Notes

- 1 My earlier papers on these data are ‘The Templars in Britain: Garway and south Wales’, presented at ‘The Templar economy in the Western World: estates, trade, finance’: international conference at Troyes and Ville-sous-la-Ferté, France, 24–26 October 2012, and published as: H. J. Nicholson, ‘The Templars in Britain: Garway and South Wales’, in

- L'économie templière en Occident: Patrimoines, commerce, finances*, ed. A. Baudin, G. Brunel and N. Dohrmann (Langres, 2013), pp. 323–36 and 'The Templars in the West of Britain: Garway, South Wales, and the South West' in a session 'Making Money?: The Templars' Economy in Britain', at the IMC Leeds July 2013.
- 2 Studies based on these documents include P. Slavin, 'Landed Estates of the Knights Templar in England and Wales and Their Management in the Early Fourteenth Century', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 42 (2013), 36–49; E. Lord, *The Knights Templars in Britain* (Harlow, 2002); C. Perkins, 'The Wealth of the Templars in England and the Disposition of it after their Dissolution', *American Historical Review*, 15 (1910), 252–63.
- 3 'Documents Relating to the Suppression of the Templars in Ireland', ed. G. MacNiocaill, *Analecta Hibernica*, 24 (1967), 183–226.
- 4 For the Hospitallers' property in Wales, see: W. Rees, *A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border, Including an Account of the Templars* (Cardiff, 1947); for their property and interests in Cumberland and Westmorland, see the *Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I. II. and III. in curia receptae scaccarij Westm. asservatae*, ed. W. Illingworth and J. Caley (London, 1818), pp. 117, 787. I am very grateful to Peter Griffiths for sending me information he has collected on Temple Sowerby.
- 5 In 2010, 2011 and 2012 archaeological excavations were carried out around Garway church under the supervision of David Jemmett. I am very grateful to David Jemmett and the landowners, John Hughes and Matthew Sanderson, for allowing me access to the site and showing me around, and especially to Matthew Sanderson for allowing me access to the dovecote. On the site at Garway see: J. Webb, 'Notes on the Preceptory of the Templars at Garway in the County of Hereford', *Archaeologia*, 21 (1844), 182–97; J. Fleming-Yates, 'The Knights Templar and Hospitallers in the Manor of Garway, Herefordshire', *Transactions of the Woolhope Natural History Field Club* (no volume number) (1927); *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Herefordshire* (1931), I, pp. 69–73.
- 6 Temple on Bodmin Moor: *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185*, ed. B. Lees (London, 1935), p. 60, note 7.
- 7 Kew: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): E 358/18, rots 2 (years 1 and 2), 44 (year 5); E 358/19, rots 25 (years 1, 2, 5), 47 (year 6 and nine weeks of year 7), 50 (11 weeks of year 2, years 3 and 4).
- 8 TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2–2v, E 358/19 rot. 25–25v (years 1 and 2), rots 50v, 51 (end of year 2, year 3).
- 9 TNA: E 358/20 rot. 10r and TNA: SC 6/1202/3.
- 10 TNA: E 358/20 rot. 11v.
- 11 TNA: E 142/11 m. 4.
- 12 'Corrodia petita de domibus Templariorum, annis I^o & II^o Edwardi II', in *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Selected from the Records of the Department of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Cole (London, 1844), pp. 139–230 (edition of TNA: E 142/9); TNA: E 142/119 mm. 21 and 23.
- 13 Lees, *Records of the Templars in England*, pp. 142–3.
- 14 TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2; E 358/19 rot. 25.
- 15 TNA: E 358/18 rot. 44(2); E 358/19 rot. 25(1)v.
- 16 TNA: E 358/19 rots 25(1)v, 47v, 50.
- 17 TNA: E 358/18 rot. 2(2); E 358/19 rot. 50.
- 18 *The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. H. Nicholson (Farnham, 2011), pp. 103, 530, 576.
- 19 TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2; E 358/19 rot. 25.
- 20 TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2.
- 21 Totals taken from TNA: E 358/18, rots 2, 44; E 358/19, rots 25, 47, 50.

- 22 D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn (Harlow, 1971), pp. 292–3.
- 23 Nicholson, *The Proceedings against the Templars*, II, pp. 554, 558.
- 24 TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2–2v, TNA: E 358/19 rot. 50v, rot. 51.
- 25 Totals taken from TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2–2v, E 358/19 rots 25–25v, 50v, 51.
- 26 TNA: E 358/19 rot. 51(1).
- 27 T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, vol. 5 (Manchester, 1920), p. 317, note.
- 28 TNA: E358/18, rot. 44(2)v; E 358/19 rots 47v, 50–1.
- 29 ‘Hamel’ at TNA: E 358/18, rot. 44(2)v; ‘maner’ at E 358/19 rot. 47v.
- 30 TNA: E 358/19 rots. 47v, 50.
- 31 TNA: E 358/19 rot. 47v; E 358/19 rot. 50(1).
- 32 TNA: E 358/19 rot. 50(1).
- 33 TNA: E358/18, rot. 44(2)v; E 358/19 rots 50(1), 50v.
- 34 Rees, *History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales*, p. 32; G. T. Clark, *Cartae et alia munimenta quæ ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, vol. 3, 2nd edn (Cardiff, 1910), pp. 963–5: edition of Public Record Office: QR Misc. Books fol. 486b; *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with Their Dependencies, in England and Wales . . .*, ed. W. Dugdale and R. Dodsworth; revised by R. C. Taylor, J. Stevens, J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1846), VI:2, p. 841, nos. 32, 33: edition of Cotton MS Vitellii F 1. I am grateful to Sally Lyne of the Old Rectory, Llanmadoc, for showing me around the site and discussing her theories with me.
- 35 TNA: SC 6/1202/3; E 358/20 rot. 10r.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 TNA: PRO E 358/20 rot. 10r. See also William Rees’s transcription of TNA: PRO SC 6/1202/3 in *Bulletin of Celtic Studies*, 13 (1950), 144–5.
- 38 Lees, *Records of the Templars*, p. 60, n. 7: Fawimore (Foweymoor on Bodmin Moor).
- 39 TNA: E 358/20 rot. 11v.
- 40 Totals taken from ibid.
- 41 H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial: The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles 1308–1311* (Stroud, 2009), p. 241.
- 42 Following Edward II’s order of 4 March 1309: *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Edward II: A.D. 1307–1313* (London, 1892), p. 94; cited by Perkins, ‘The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England’, p. 252.
- 43 TNA: E 142/11 m 4.
- 44 Nicholson, *The Proceedings against the Templars*, II, pp. 528, 562, 598.
- 45 *The Knights Hospitallers in England, Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for AD 1338*, ed. L. B. Larking, intro. J. M. Kemble, Camden Society 1st Series, 65 (1857), pp. 197–8.
- 46 (Garway) TNA: E 358/18 rot. 2v, E 358/19 rot. 25(2); (Upleadon) TNA: E 358/18 rot. 2.2v, E 358/19 rot. 25(1)v.
- 47 TNA: E 358/19 rot 51.
- 48 Evidence set out in Nicholson, ‘The Templars in Garway and South Wales’, p. 327, n. 7.
- 49 TNA: E 358/19 rot. 47v.
- 50 TNA: E 142/119 mm 22, 24 (marked 30); E 142/119 mm. 7, 15–16.
- 51 TNA: E 142/119 mm 21, 23 (marked 29).

11 Defensive elements in the architecture of Templar and Hospitaller preceptories in the priory of Navarre

Julia Baldó Alcoz

The ideology and symbolism of military architecture

The architecture of the Navarrese preceptories can be classified into two major artistic groups distinguished by quality and planning insofar as the majority of preceptories that evidently were built with an architectural and sculptural plan in mind also exhibit a tendency towards including defensive features in their building works and topographical settings, thus indicating that these defensive elements had a dual functionality.

On the one hand, and especially in the case of the Templar preceptories, they had a clear and manifest military purpose, which was as much the result of their internal conceptualization as of contemporary historical contingencies.¹ On the other hand, the defensive elements in the military architecture had also acquired a twofold symbolic function as the material representation of political and economical power related to territorial sovereignty and vassalage, and the representation of religious power symbolizing, as it did, the transposition of the celestial sphere into the terrestrial world.

The military architecture of these buildings also incorporates a number of specific cultural features (e.g. raised height, verticality in the construction, solidity of walls, sense of enclosure), which gave expression to a range of commonly accepted social values. These features, in turn, imply other psychological causes (the need for a sense of security, protection or even threat) which were present in the cultural and visual concepts of the time. The perception of these architectural forms influenced, psychologically and functionally, the social relationships and demonstration of power in the domain, giving rise to a profound spatial symbolism.

Among the group of preceptories with a military design, the Hospitaller preceptory of Cizur Menor and the Templar preceptory of Aberin are notable for their exceptionally good state of preservation. Sadly, the transformations and debilitation of most other Navarrese preceptories today prevent us from knowing their original appearance, and neither the totality of possible defensive elements incorporated in those buildings nor the full nature of their defensive compounds can today be understood. However, archaeological finds and recent restorations have brought new information about some of these buildings to light, which, alongside future ventures, will enable us to understand better their form and structure.

Defensive elements

It needs to be pointed out that we cannot ignore the use of orography as the principal method for studying the defensive implications of Templar and Hospitaller preceptories. Most preceptories were situated on hills or hillocks, with varying degrees of elevation allowing for control over the approaches from the surrounding area.² The vast majority was to be found in the vicinity of important communication routes (the main Camino de Santiago road or secondary branches thereof, as well as the kingdom's regional roads) or, secondly, in intensively farmed areas; all were situated in agricultural and forested regions rich in cattle and near river courses.³

These topographical features were enhanced by fortified enclosures, consisting of platforms and slopes, successions of exterior walls and also by parapets and other elements, such as battlements and merlons, brattices, wall walks and arrow slits, which had been inserted into the architecture of the buildings to achieve greater defensive effectiveness.⁴

As will be illustrated later, however, the most important element in any of these Navarrese fortifications was the tower, which, in powerful commanderies as much as in small rural preceptories, formed the main point of defence.⁵

It is fortunate that some of the defensive features of Templar and Hospitaller preceptories have been preserved in Navarre. This suggests a wider use of them than previously acknowledged and thus compliance with a trend in military architecture at the time that can be observed throughout the Iberian Peninsula and in both western and eastern Europe.

Platforms, ramps and walls

Preceptories were typically located on natural elevations the top and slopes of which were modified by building of platforms and access and protection ramps.⁶ The choice of high locations doubtless reflected a need for both physical and spiritual protection, and the construction of platforms and ramps helped to boost their natural defensive resources. But the choice of defensive locations also indicates that the intended social, political and economical organization of the space surrounding it had a clear hierarchical purpose. The structures built on the heights dominated the countryside and the homes of their vassals, situated on the hills or valleys below them.⁷

In the kingdom of Navarre it was common practice to build preceptories on top of hills and hillocks of varying heights, which dominated the broad valleys surrounding them (Figures 11.1 and 11.2). The slopes of these hills were terraced and their defensive features strengthened by platforms and access and protection ramps. In addition, building terraces vastly increased the agricultural usability of the area, as was the case, for example, at Iracheta. In other cases, however, such as Cabanillas or Ribaforada, the preceptories' enclosures were situated on the plain with one or two small lateral ravines, descending from the hilltop downwards to



Figure 11.1 Induráin Commandery, general view

Photograph © Julia Baldó Alcoz



Figure 11.2 Echávarri Commandery, general view

Photograph © Julia Baldó Alcoz



Figure 11.3 Aberin Commandery, ramparts and platforms

Photograph © Julia Baldó Alcoz

the valley, as their only natural defences.⁸ This also seems to have been the case with Echávarri, where still today a stone road or ramp can be seen running parallel to the ramparts and down into the valley (Figure 11.2).⁹

Perhaps the most spectacular example is the Templar preceptory of Aberin, where there can still be found a full combination of all these elements: a steep hillock, deep gullies on all its fronts, three large platforms delimited by high walls and, finally, a stone road leading to the valley below. Defensive walls on its eastern, northern and western fronts were completed by an impressive fortified enclosure (further described later) and broad outer ward between the exterior and interior walls at the level of the intermediate platform (Figure 11.3).¹⁰

Compounds and ramparts

Most Navarrese preceptories feature a defensive structure consisting of different buildings (usually a palace, hospital, several service buildings and a church) centred on a central open space. The layout followed that of monasteries and crusader castles,¹¹ as was the case, for example, for Iracheta, and was sometimes completed by parapets, as was the case with Induráin. However, in at least two cases the fortified compound was more developed than that.¹² At both Cizur Menor and Aberin Gothic conventual enclosures including powerful defensive elements such as towered ramparts still lean up against a Romanesque church.¹³ At Aberin the compound was additionally protected by a series of walls, which, as has been noted, at the same time also helped the garrison to protect the land on all hillside fronts (Figure 11.3).

Finally, mention must be made of the appearance, in a recent excavation carried out at Ribaforada, of the remains of a wall in the gully below the preceptory confirming the existence of a defensive ring around it.

Defensive and watchtowers

The towers that have survived until the present day are mostly church towers. This is largely because churches have survived in a better condition than preceptory buildings, the latter having suffered from abandonment and ruin after the dissolution of the religious orders and the confiscation of their property in the nineteenth century. At any rate, in the case of the simple rural preceptories like Induráin, Iracheta, Irissarry, Fustiñana or Ribaforada, the church tower played an important role as place of refuge for people from the preceptory and the adjoining village.¹⁴ Most of these towers changed their function over the course of time and many of them transformed into bell towers. As a result, none of the surviving towers still retain their original form; in most cases (e.g. Induráin, Iracheta, Ribaforada, Fustiñana, and Irissarry) only the medieval walls of the plinths but not the upper structures survive.¹⁵

The Church of the Crucifix at Puente la Reina¹⁶ and the Templars' church at Aberin have best preserved their fortifications, with most of the wall fabric and the defensive structures such as corbels and machicolations still intact (Figure 11.4). Remains of other types of tower can be found as part of the fortified enclosures of Aberin and Cizur. These are the sole surviving examples of military architecture that are actually associated with the enclosure. In the case of Aberin two circular towers, or turrets, are situated at the two western corners of the fortified enclosure.



Figure 11.4 Aberin Commandery, church tower

Photograph © Julia Baldó Alcoz

Now reduced to stumps, their missing upper parts would once have included crenellations, as would the curtain wall (Figure 11.3).

Aberin's external appearance shares architectural features and formal similarities with the curtain walls of the citadel of Antioch, Castle Saone, the Genoese castle of Molivos on Lesbos and the fortified indoor walls of the monastery of Dafni outside Athens, all of which I believe are connected.¹⁷ It might also be related to a number of other Templar commanderies with similar architectural patterns on their floor plans and elevations such as, for example, Sant Hipòlit de la Salanca, Rosselló, Francia, Castle Xivert, Castellón and the castles of Alconchel and Burguillos in Badajoz, Spain.¹⁸ Another notable building, this one of octagonal design and located at the vertex of the fortified compound's external platform, might have functioned as a watchtower, given its location above the access road to the preceptory and next to the outer face of the rampart.¹⁹

In the case of Cizur Menor we have a total number of five towers. Judging from their close location, three of these seem to have directly contributed to the protection of the church. All but one of the towers are located at the corners of the conventual enclosure whereas the fifth, situated outside on the external wall with access to a funeral chapel dedicated to the Navarrese prior Juan de Beaumont located within the church, must have functioned as a kind of watchtower.²⁰ The four standard towers are square and have each two upper storeys. From the ground floor one was led through pointed arches to the central courtyard and the galleries of the Hospitaller monastery. The free fronts of the two upper floors featured arrow slits. Crenellations on breastwork and merlons with loopholes along the towers' top terraces completed the defensive appearance of these structures (Figure 11.5).

Battlements, merlons, crenellations and brattices

As has been seen in the previous section, defensive elements in the form of parapets, either with crenellated breastworks or brattices, were commonplace. In most cases these elements have now disappeared, although some towers still retain them.

On the Aberin church tower, for example, two rows of machicolations along the eastern and western walls still survive; an existing group of blocks on the eastern flank would indicate that they once supported an upper hanging structure – perhaps some type of crenellated parapet or brattice (Figure 11.4). A similar solution may have been adopted in the case of the Templar Church of the Crucifix at Puente la Reina, where a group of corbels and supporting parapet can still be seen on the western and eastern front walls of the tower. The upper part of this tower was remodelled during the sixteenth century, however, and very likely the extant defensive elements (machicolations and brattices) were recreated during that period following medieval models. In addition, on the tower of the church of San Martín in Luquin, a village near Aberin, three long lines of machicolations along the northern, southern and western walls have been conserved.

The simplest design pattern was that applied to the conventual enclosure of Cizur Menor. Its surviving tower has crenellations and merlons pierced with



Figure 11.5 Cizur Menor Commandery

Photograph © Julia Baldó Alcoz

artillery loopholes (Figure 11.5). The hospital building of Irissarry preceptory offers the most curious application of defensive elements. Constructed in the early seventeenth century the building's defensive structure clearly was the result of stylistic rather than genuinely military considerations. But it nonetheless indicates the enduring significance of military architectural elements as signs of the Order's social standing and protective role within society's collective conscience. Four brattices were placed at the frontal corners of the building, and of these the three lines of machicolations that served as support for the defensive balcony still survive.²¹

Wall walks

This type of defensive element has survived only very incompletely because of the many alterations to the covers and roofs of the buildings over time, especially in the case of churches. Moreover, restorations carried out during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tended to eliminate elements void of religious symbolism, especially, again, in the case of churches. Many of the military features of these buildings have consequently disappeared with them. Nonetheless, even today four

groups of machicolations and one brattice can be distinguished on the front upper wall of the Gothic church of Urroz-Villa in Navarre.²² Only a few incomplete elements allow us to assume the existence of wall walks at the top of the outside walls of the enclosures of Aberin (Figure 11.4) and Cizur Menor, as well as along the roofs of their churches. These would have connected to the enclosures' defence and watchtowers, as was the case in Spain with other churches associated with fortresses (for example, the church and castle of Loarre in Aragon, the churches of Olazagutía and San Nicolás in Pamplona or even the church of San Saturnino in Artajona in Navarre, which was located inside a fortified compound).

Arrow slits/loopholes and raised doors

The most widely employed defensive element in rural Templar and Hospitaller architecture was the arrow slit or loophole. Easy to incorporate and use, they can be found in places of worship like the church of Iracheta, which functioned as a place of refuge and resistance during sieges, and in preceptory buildings, as was the case with Induráin. In both cases the arrow slits inserted in the architecture are rather rustic in style. Compared with them, the arrow slits inserted into the architecture of Aberin and Cizur Menor fulfil a demonstratively more defensive purpose, distributed as they are across the different levels of the fortified towers. At both Aberin and Cizur Menor the external opening of the slits becomes narrower the higher up they are thus making the structure more resistant to attack. Arrow slits were also incorporated in later reconstructions of the original buildings thus reinforcing their defensive functions. Thus, at the end of the fifteenth century arrow slits offered an important element of defence in the sieges of Aberin and Echávarri by the prior of Navarre, Berenguer Sanz de Berrozpe, whose incorporation of the two houses into his domain the Hospitallers of both places were resisting.²³ The use of elevated doors as an obvious defence mechanism against intrusion was also very common. Echávarri serves as a particularly illustrative example because the building which incorporated these doors was built as a Romanesque palace and as such followed the general penchant of castles, palaces and fortified towers of the period for raised access points that could be reached only by mobile wooden ladders. At the same time, they fulfilled a dual function as door and window, thus guaranteeing privacy and security simultaneously.²⁴

Conclusions

From this investigation it can be concluded that preceptories of the Templars and Hospitallers in Navarre included in their architecture defensive elements which corresponded with the prevailing military architectural fashion of the time of their respective constructions. Interestingly we find the most complex and evolved program of defensive elements in the architecture of Templar preceptories (Ribaforada, Puente la Reina and Aberin). I know of only one Hospitaller preceptory, Cizur Menor, with fortified conventual buildings. The degree of fortification of individual preceptories may have been determined by factors inherent to their

respective orders. The Order of St John of Jerusalem was primarily concerned with the care for pilgrims and the sick and with farming the land belonging to its houses. The comparatively strong defensive character of Cizur Menor may be explained by the fact that it was the seat of the priory of Navarre and in close proximity to Pamplona, the capital of the kingdom.

Notes

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- 6 J. Fuguet, *L'arquitectura dels templers a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1995), p. 375.
- 7 E. Varela Agüi, *La fortaleza medieval: simbolismo y poder en la Edad Media* (Valladolid, 2002), pp. 196–7.
- 8 J. Baldó Alcoz, 'La arquitectura de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en la Navarra medieval: templos con recinto anexo', in *La Orden del Hospital de San Juan de Jerusalén: Contextos y trayectorias del Priorato de Navarra medieval*, ed. J. Pavón and M. Bonet (Pamplona, 2013), pp. 339–479.
- 9 J. Baldó Alcoz, 'El recinto conventual de la encomienda hospitalaria de Echávarri (Navarra)', in *I Simposium 'Patrimonio Artístico de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en España'*, ed. W. Rincón, M. Izquierdo and A. Pascual (Zaragoza, 2012), pp. 167–87.
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 - 14 I. Bango, 'La iglesia encastillada, de fortaleza de la fe a baluarte militar', in *Actas del IV Curso de Cultura Medieval. Seminario: La Fortificación Medieval en la Península Ibérica*, Centro de Estudios del Románico, Aguilar de Campoo, ed. Pedro Luis Huerta Huerta, 21–26 de Septiembre de 1992 (Aguilar de Campoo, 2001), pp. 33–48.
 - 15 Baldó Alcoz, *La arquitectura de la Orden de San Juan*, pp. 459–62.
 - 16 'Catálogo Monumental de Navarra', ed. C. García Gainza (9 vols., Pamplona 1980–1997), vol. V**: Merindad de Pamplona, Imoz-Zugarramurdi (1996), p. 507.
 - 17 Nicolle, Crusader Castles, photographs on pp. 14–15, 73, 160, 165. For further information on this matter see also J. Baldó Alcoz, 'Influencias mediterráneas en el patrimonio artístico medieval de las órdenes militares navarras: una primera aproximación', *Príncipe de Viana. VIII Congreso General de Historia de Navarra*, 76:262 (2015), vol. 2, 821–34.
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 - 19 Baldó Alcoz, *La arquitectura de la Orden de San Juan*, p. 345 presents some different hypotheses.
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12 The commandery of Noudar of the Order of Avis in the border with Castile

History and memory

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Introduction

In 2008, the Portuguese Ministry of Science approved a research project entitled *Commanderies of the Military Orders: National Profile and International Setting*. With this support, from 2009 onwards, a working group from the University of Porto undertook research into two Portuguese commanderies in the south of the country, Noudar and Marmelar, belonging to the Order of Avis and the Order of St John.

The choice of these two commanderies can be explained by their symbolic role in a wider context rather than by the study of the two localities alone. Noudar represents a frontier region directly related to the development of Castilian history (especially of the Andalusian region), and Marmelar, where a relic of the Holy Cross was venerated under the protection of the Order of St John and which was included in pilgrimage itineraries, has a devotional profile. These two different characteristics allow for a study of the two military orders related with the different notions of borders on the European periphery.

A volume was written about the two commanderies, coordinated by Luis Adão da Fonseca, entitled *Comendas das Ordens Militares. Perfil nacional e inserção internacional. Noudar e Vera Cruz de Marmelar* (Porto, CEPESE and Fronteira do Caos, 2013), and then three e-books were published which contain documents on the two commanderies.¹

The *Sixth International Conference of the Military Orders* was held during the final stage of the project and provided a good opportunity for us to present some more results.

The Order of Avis has a special role in discussions over the relations between the kings of Portugal and the military orders during the Middle Ages.² In this context the commandery of Noudar constitutes an impressive case study, because it is located on the border with Castile. The documents do not hide this evidence, and some even reflect King Dinis's clear understanding of the situation. That is why

he stated that 'our castle of Noudar is situated on the border and is the closest to the dominion of Castile if we compare its location to all the other castles we possess.'³

Cartographically this is a very easy statement to justify (see Figure 12.1),⁴ but historically it is a complex topic that requires careful consideration, because the preservation of the border has always been assumed as an integral *objective* of Iberian history. In our view, this happens for two main reasons. First, because the roots of Portugal as a kingdom cannot be separated from the history of the neighbouring kingdoms, the Lusitanian kings were forced to affirm their identity in the presence of powerful neighbours. The period that illustrates this situation most clearly is the one between the Battle of Ourique in 1140⁵ and the issuing of the papal bull *Manifestis probatum* in 1179.⁶ These years (which represent the period from the royal affirmation of the count of Portugal up to his official recognition as a king by the pope) mark the starting point for an intertwining relationship between the Iberian kingdoms. After the end of the Portuguese reconquest in 1249, the Noudar region came to reflect the difficulties of governing a recently independent territory. The Portuguese kings were able to begin implementing territorial organization but, as expected, they were immediately confronted with the problem of having Castile as a neighbour. This neighbourhood policy is exclusive to Portugal's dealings with Castile and informed Portugal-Castilian relations for centuries to come. Noudar, given its geographical location on the border, was permanently exposed to the reality of this policy. The documentary evidence for this is very strong, especially in cases where the Portuguese policy strengthens the Iberian continental horizons (or is affected by such factors). The study of these moments always highlights the fragility of this situation. This is the case in the fourteenth century with the wars led by Fernando I of Portugal and the invasion of Juan I of Castile into the Portuguese territory (and its consequences) and also with the Castilian policies of D. Alfonso V in the 1470s.

Second, the fact that Noudar is a borderline territory allows us to understand how ambiguous the notion of a *border* was. It could follow the lines of a river, as was often the case during the Reconquest, or run along the western and southern Atlantic coast, as well as along the land which sits in between the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile. The boundaries between the Portuguese and Castilian realms were clearly thematized in the 1260s (for example in the Treaty of Badajoz in 1267) and especially in the demarcation agreement of Alcanices in 1297.⁷ From then on preoccupations about demarcating the border arose and diminished in a more or less cyclical fashion. Although they were not restricted to one particular region, they nonetheless help to establish the perceived contours of borders at micro-geographical level, which remained contested until the early modern period.⁸

Against this background, it is important to study in detail the role that the commandary had in the aforementioned political and diplomatic context. However, it must be stated that in order to achieve such a goal it is necessary to consider Noudar as both a village donated in 1308 by King Dinis to the Order of Avis and a commandary of the same Order.⁹ The location of the commandary was particularly

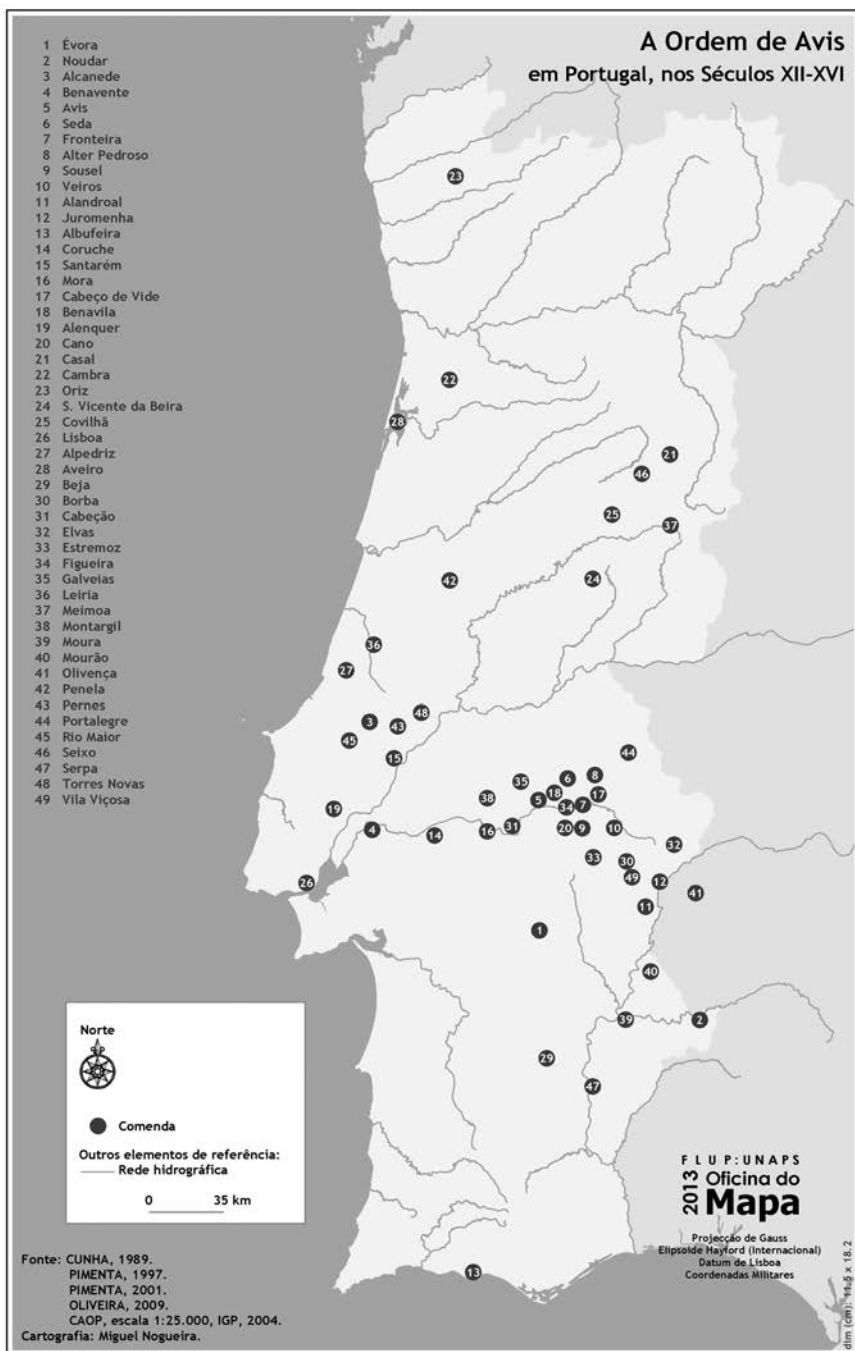


Figure 12.1 The Order of Avis in Portugal (twelfth to sixteenth centuries)

fluid, and the lack of precise boundaries resulted in the coexistence within the same territory of people born on the other side of the frontier. This explains the existence of regular border conflicts and the frequent presence of the monarch to arbitrate them.¹⁰

More than 300 documents have been analyzed concerning the commandery, and their typology reveals that references to problems over territorial boundaries make up 43 per cent of the overall total.¹¹ From a chronological perspective, the documents show moderate values until the 1280s (the total rises to levels approximating two dozen diplomas between 1280 and 1310), which illustrates the importance given to the first border conflicts after the agreement of Alcanices (see Figure 12.2).

It is, therefore, of little surprise that the history of the commandery was largely defined by the region's significance as an area of defence, on the one hand, and the experiences generated by frequent cross-border exchanges, on the other. Both characteristics were further influenced by the presence of a military order between the opposing spheres of influence of the two neighbouring kingdoms who were interested in establishing allegiances with it. In fact, the decision of 1308 of King Dinis to trust the destiny of Noudar to Avis can perhaps be explained by the limited presence of the Order in the South of Évora.¹² At this time, the Order of Avis held only Albufeira, in the Algarve, whereas the Hospitalers held Alandroal, Montoito and Vera Cruz, and the monarch held the surrounding villages of Serpa and Moura.¹³ This is an important point, as it reinforces the idea that the connection between the king and the Order of Avis was very strong, being a bond of trust. In the 1320s, when King Dinis was fighting a civil war against his heir,¹⁴ no one complained when the master of Avis, Vasco Afonso,

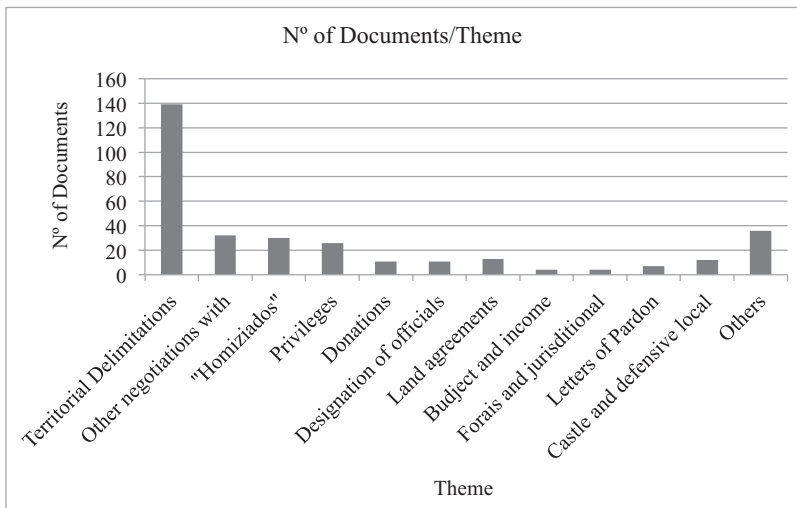


Figure 12.2 No. of documents/theme

took over the defence of the castle of Noudar and became lord of the region.¹⁵ Obviously this proximity had consequences with the commanders who received the village in *commendan*, as was the case of Rui Martins in 1312.¹⁶ He was the first member of the Order of Avis to be identified in the sources as a local commander, and also commander of Elvas (a location also under the control of Avis), a situation of which the king was well aware and which gave him sufficient reason to trust Rui Martins.

For the following years the region remained unstable, despite treaties and other diplomatic agreements. Therefore, it is clear that the monarch entrusted the defence of Noudar to the Order of Avis to ensure the maintenance and upkeep of the castle. This can be seen from the clauses of the donation, which stipulated that the Order should build a good wall around the castle.¹⁷ Almost a century later, in 1408, after one of the most turbulent periods of Iberian history, King John I (1385–1433) was also confronted with the difficulty of defending the region and ordered fourteen counties ruled by the Order to subsidize works on the castle of Noudar.¹⁸

The history of Noudar was, therefore, closely aligned to the Portuguese monarchy. Accordingly, it is natural that the evolution of this commandery and the military order that governed it was always closely related to the history of Iberia. Such a complex and special relationship gave prominence to the masters of Avis and also to the commanders appointed to solve, along with the king's officers, some major problems of Iberian diplomacy. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that it was not only the commanders who continued to be close to the master of the Order.¹⁹ From the reign of King John I onwards, for example, the Order established kinship ties with families associated with Noudar and also formed social networks with the royal family.

The local people of Noudar were also affected by the wider border relations between the Order and its neighbours. In particular, tensions arose in connection to the undue occupation of farmland. It is true that for the common people who lived there, peace between the two monarchies was a vital condition to ensure their way of living in a region with resources mostly restricted to cork trees, holm oak, wheat, vineyards, olive groves and cattle. The latter was their main source of income, as Noudar was a major point where livestock crossed to and from Castile. But there are other reasons to justify the importance of the region. The crown used it as a refuge where condemned men served their sentences, as is indicated by the name of these kinds of villages in Portuguese sources: *couto de homiziados*.²⁰ Because of these factors the region turned out to have an unexpected importance. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the *Definições* of 1327 issued by the Order of Avis, show that Noudar had an income of 1,200 pounds, which was among the highest noted in that source.²¹

Throughout the fifteenth century the political and economic situation remained the same in this border region and, more than ever, the Order of Avis and the monarchy continued to face the challenges of the new century together. The turbulent reign of King Afonso V led to direct interference in the commandery from the Catholic Monarchs, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. On their orders, Noudar was occupied in 1476 by a force from Seville and another era of conflict

began.²² Finally, between 1537 and 1542, the sources attest to a new conflict, this time between John III and the Spanish crown.

After 1551, the same king, already in possession of the Order of Avis, endowed Noudar to the duke of Aveiro, son of the last master, along with some important villages.²³ The honour which the king thus bestowed upon the House of Aveiro was both an acknowledgment of the family's continual contribution to the governance of the Order of Avis and also a recognition of its ability to protect the border effectively. The family was at this time one of the most prominent in Portugal, surpassed only by the Braganza.

Up to this point, we have stressed the political importance of Noudar within the context of relations between the rulers of Iberia. However, this analysis has another important dimension. Our documental research allows us to consider this commandary as a privileged space for the development of different schemes of social memory that expressed the contrasting relations between neighbours, local rulers and royal officers. Therefore, it is possible to oppose an 'official' memory, as stated by the royal documents and by the Order of Avis, to the memories expressed by the local people between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries. This contrast can be perceived through the different manners in which memories were recorded: in the first case – 'official' memory – we are dealing with archival documents, in the second case – 'popular' memory – the information is based on oral transmission from one generation to another, as displayed through royal enquires. This means that 'popular' memory is intermediated by official sources, by nature a mediatized resource, which was subject to the conventions imposed by the official sources that contain it.²⁴

In view of this diversification of memory into 'official' and 'popular' it is also possible to consider the region as having two different borders.

The first border is represented by territorial delimitation through diplomatic agreements and the granting of privileges. This kind of behaviour generated memories conceived by distant powers: a military order and the kings of Castile and Portugal. During the thirteenth century, the situation was mediated by the Order of St John, and then, in the fourteenth century, by the Order of Avis. In both epochs, from a distance, we frequently see the interference of the municipal rulers of Seville (the region that borders Noudar). In this case we are dealing with what we refer to as 'the memory of power'.

The second border – represented by several 'popular' memories – comes from the oral discourse through which people expressed frontier relations and communications among the neighbouring villages, which is often difficult to convey. The ability of historians to detect these 'popular' memories is conditioned by the registers made by the royal officers. That is why it is important not to forget the ambiguity of the situation. The answers are the result of questions which were prepared beforehand by an official power. In this case, the 'official power' was a group of people who were usually unfamiliar with the location they were operating in. This poses many problems for historians. For example, in 1332, a peasant was asked if he knew of any recent demarcations of the frontier in the region. The document records that he answered in an ambiguous way (and meaningfully in

Castilian): '[he] never witnessed them separating the territories, although he remembers seeing some man gather to do so.'²⁵ These words contrast significantly when compared with an official register. For example, later, in 1453, the king of Portugal wrote to the local judges that

Some Castilians came to Noudar to sow wheat. Then, when the wheat was grown, some inhabitants [of Noudar] took their cattle to the same location and spoiled the wheat. Besides this they also ate it. After this the Castilians removed the landmarks changing the limits of the two realms.²⁶

When confronted with these elements it is important to understand the different ways in which the local population formed an awareness of the border. As Mary Carruthers has argued, although in reference to a different context, medieval memory 'was not an art of recitation or repetition, but an art of invention'.²⁷ That is why, when studying the population of Noudar, it is important to analyze first, the degree of conciseness of border differentiation, and second, in regard to that conciseness, the role of the mechanisms of historical memory. Based on such a methodological approach, the problem turns out to be the organization of memories. It is interesting to see that these memories are constantly being updated, and that these updates are done through an overlapping of information, as the integration of memories was never processed automatically. That is why the systematic study of these sources allows for a deeper understanding of how the dialectic between this overlap and the mnemonic integration works out, during more or less two and a half centuries.

The point of this is therefore to be able to trace how the memories of the peasants follow the progressive definition of the border as stated by the royal power and dependent on a group of officials predominantly interested in the written record of such memories. In fact, this process of recollection reveals the profound change that separates the two memories: as the official memory appeals to a cumulative process of references, the oral memory of the population of Noudar works through an articulation of memories and forgetfulness. From the period between the treaty of Alcanices, which defined the border of the region and guaranteed the integration of Noudar into the Portuguese Crown, until the subsequent enquires (1315, 1332, 1346–1353, etc.), there are hundreds of examples that can illustrate this interpretation.²⁸ Because we are unable to discuss them all, we have limited ourselves to some specifically selected examples.

The case of Noudar shows that 'popular' memory does not progress independently from 'official' memory but, in fact, it is subject to it and (through mechanisms of distortion and/or neglect and forgetfulness) can be altered by it. Our first observation refers to examples from the early fourteenth century. There are chronological references in the royal enquiries which relate to well known events. On the one side, the peasants mention, as chronological milestones of their memories, events that had taken place in Andalusia during the Reconquest led by Alfonso X and Sancho IV of Castile and, on the other, they blamed the presence of the Order of Avis at Noudar for the interruption of the cross-border communications with

Castile.²⁹ This means that, in the middle of the first-half of the fourteenth century, although the official memory clearly points to the political legitimacy of the Portuguese presence in Noudar, because of diplomatic agreements, the popular local memory is still connected to the remembrance of events that were not articulated with the Portuguese royal power, but with Spanish history. In other words, in these enquiries, decades after the incorporation of that area into the Kingdom of Portugal, the Lusitanian king is absent from the memories of local population, and their temporal references remain Castilian.

Subsequent enquiries from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards reveal a pronounced neglectfulness of the previous schemes, although they stress the role of the commander who controlled the border. For example, we find that, through the Order of Avis, the 'official' memory begins to mark the fundamental focal points. To some extent the combination of these different facts (forgetfulness and reinforcement of the Order's position) may have led to the formation of an 'administrative' memory of the border. This evolution, which happened at the beginning of the fifteenth century, is clearly outlined in the copies of official documents relating to the commandery and kept in the central archives and sent by King John I to Noudar in 1423, which demonstrate that although the commandery belonged to the military order of Avis, its limits were defined by the king.

Peace did not last long in this territory, and by the end of the fifteenth century the conflicts had returned. In 1493, within the context of renewed turmoil between Portugal and Castile, the sending of officials with a mission to carry out enquiries had reappeared.³⁰ The answers given by the local population reveal that the origins of the border delineation had by now been completely forgotten. Nobody seems to have recalled what had happened in the past, more than two decades before. At this point one local peasant stated that Noudar always belonged to the Order of Avis.³¹ This is a clear case of 'retro-projection' of contemporary experience onto the past explained by the fact that the Order of Avis was the only reference still locked in peoples' memory. In this sense, the memory of the local population was recorded in decreasing terms: the royal references were lost and the horizons of the memory were seigniorial, which means that the Order of Avis was the dominant framework of mnemonic references for the peasantry of Noudar.

Regarding this last aspect, it is important to stress that the allusions to the Order are coherent. Not all information is evoked, only that which referred to the exercise of jurisdictional power by the master and the commanders. There are some situations in which a commander was remembered as having a friendly image but appears in the documents as a very disagreeable person on the account of his exercise of seigniorial powers.³² This means that half a century later, people from that commandery remembered only the positive aspects of his role at Noudar. This appears to be a typical example of 'shaped memory' that was identified, from a psychological perspective, by David Bakhurst.³³ It is therefore sensible to label his memory as a seigniorial one, not only because of its contents but also because of its conceptual formulation. Thus we are faced with a mnemonic evolution that could act as an instrument of disruptive memory.³⁴

In conclusion, we may be facing a situation in which the local commandery of Noudar worked as a multi-level structure that, at the beginning of the early modern age, succeeded to control a population traditionally accustomed to wider horizons. This was the result of the continuous persistency of Portuguese royal power in the region. In this context, the Order of Avis was the instrument. But the results of the royal achievements were only half-succeeded. At the end of the fifteenth century, the peasants of Noudar did not feel subjects of the king. Rather, they felt dependent on the Order of Avis.

Notes

- 1 These are available through the CEPESE website (Research Centre for the Study of Population, Economy and Society, Oporto University) and are part of the collection *Militarium Ordinum Analecta [MOA]*, 14/15/16 [<http://www.cepesepublicacoes.pt/portal/menu/militarium-ordinum-analecta-1>].
- 2 M. C. Pimenta, 'A Ordem Militar de Avis (durante o mestrado de D. Fernando Rodrigues de Sequeira)', *MOA*, 1 (1997), 153–4; M. C. Pimenta, 'As Ordens de Avis e de Santiago na Baixa Idade Média: o governo de D. Jorge', *MOA*, 5 (2001), 31–64; M. C. Pimenta, 'D. Pedro I e as Ordens Militares: algumas notas de reflexão', in *Pedro e Inês – o futuro do passado. Congresso Internacional*, vol. 1 (Coimbra, 2013), pp. 149–67.
- 3 'Corpus Documental da Comenda de Noudar (1248–1554)', ed. L. A. Fonseca, *MOA*, 14 (2013), doc. 72.
- 4 See the map of the presence of the Order of Avis in Portugal (Figure 12.1).
- 5 J. Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques* (Rio de Mouro, 2005), pp. 112–18.
- 6 *Monumenta Henricina*, ed. A. J. Dias Dinis (15 vols., Coimbra, 1960–1974), Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1960), pp. 18–21.
- 7 M. A. F. Marques, 'As etapas de crescimento do reino', in *Nova História de Portugal. Portugal em definição de fronteiras. Do Condado Portucalense à crise do século XIV*, ed. J. Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques (Lisbon, 1996), pp. 49–64.
- 8 See several documents about the conflicts of the sixteenth century in 'Corpus Documental da Comenda de Noudar (1248–1554)', ed. L. A. Fonseca, *MOA*, 14 (2013), 991ff.
- 9 'Corpus Documental da Comenda de Noudar (1248–1554)', doc. 54.
- 10 M. González Jiménez, 'A Fronteira entre Castela e Portugal no século XIII', *MOA*, 17 (2013), 126–7.
- 11 M. C. Pimenta and L. A. Fonseca, 'A representação do passado dada pela documentação', *MOA*, 17 (2013), 110–24. See Figure 12.2.
- 12 'Corpus Documental da Comenda de Noudar (1248–1554)', doc. 54.
- 13 M. R. F. Marreiros, 'Poder sobre a terra – suporte socio-económico dos grupos sociais', in *Nova História de Portugal. Portugal em definição de fronteiras. Do Condado Portucalense à crise do século XIV*, ed. J. Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, vol. 3 (Lisbon, 1996), pp. 185–98.
- 14 J. A. S. Pizarro, *D. Dinis* (Rio de Mouro, 2005), pp. 181–3, 189–200.
- 15 'Corpus Documental da Comenda de Noudar (1248–1554)', doc. 73.
- 16 M. L. de Mendonça, 'Os comendadores de Noudar: entre a Ordem e a Coroa', *MOA*, 17 (2013), 183.
- 17 'Corpus Documental da Comenda de Noudar (1248–1554)', doc. 48.
- 18 *Ibid.*, doc. 123.
- 19 Mendonça, 'Os comendadores de Noudar: entre a Ordem e a Coroa', pp. 184–9.
- 20 The theme was studied by H. B. Moreno, 'Elementos para o estudo dos coutos de homiziados instituídos pela coroa', in *Portugaliae Historica*, vol. 2 (Lisbon, 1974), pp. 13–63.

- 21 L.F. Oliveira, 'As Definições da Ordem de Avis de 1327', in *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros*, ed. I.C.F. Fernandes, 2 vols (Palmela, 2012), I, p. 378.
- 22 'Corpus Documental da Comenda de Noudar (1248–1554)', doc. 184.
- 23 Papal bull *Preclara charissimi in Christo*, Lisbon, ANTT, *Gaveta* 4, m. 1, doc. 18; *Gaveta* 5, m. 1, doc. 9 and m. 3, doc. 4.
- 24 For further development of the theme see L.A. Fonseca, 'Fronteiras territoriais e memórias históricas: o caso da comenda de Noudar da Ordem de Avis', *MOA*, 11 (2009), 37–55.
- 25 'Corpus Documental da Comenda de Noudar (1248–1554)', doc. 85.
- 26 *Ibid.*, doc. 173.
- 27 M. Carruthers, *Machina memorialis. Méditation, rhétorique et fabrication des images au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1998), pp. 18–19.
- 28 'Corpus Documental da Comenda de Noudar (1248–1554)'.
- 29 In 1332 it was reported that the master of Avis, after the construction of the castle, chased and expelled all of the Castilian cattle from his lands. See *ibid.*, doc. 85.
- 30 *Ibid.*, docs 214–21.
- 31 L.A. Fonseca, 'A comenda de Noudar da Ordem de Avis: a memória da fronteira entre a Idade Média e a Idade Moderna', in *Las Órdenes Militares en la Península Ibérica*, ed. R. Izquierdo Benito and F. Ruiz Gómez, vol. 1 (Cuenca, 2000), p. 678.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 668.
- 33 D. Bakhurst, 'Memoria, identidad y psicología cultural', in *Memoria colectiva e identidad nacional*, ed. A. Rosa Rivero, G. Belleli and D. Bakhurst (Madrid, 2000), pp. 91–105.
- 34 This was discussed in the special issue of the journal *History and Anthropology*, where the topic of memory collapse was specifically analyzed: *Between Memory and History: Special Issue of History and Anthropology*, 2, ed. M.N. Bourguet, L. Valensi and N. Wachtel (1986).

13 Vera Cruz de Marmelar in the XIIIth–XVth centuries

A St John's commandery as an expression of cultural memory and territorial appropriation

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The history of the commandery of Marmelar began with the creation of the Portel lordship by King Alfonso III of Portugal in 1258,¹ who had given this southern region of the kingdom of Portugal, which was characterized by a scarcity of administrative structures, to João de Aboim, one of the most important figures in the royal court and the king's *mordomo mor* (main butler) since 1264.² The need for church administration in this territory led to the involvement of the Order of St John thirteen years later. In April 1271, the lord of Portel granted the church of Santa Maria of Portel and all other churches in the region to the Hospitaller Afonso Peres Farinha, who was close to the king.³ In October 1272, Grand Master Hugo Revel confirmed the agreement, and in April 1274, the bishop of Évora defined the jurisdiction of the monastery of Marmelar, thus creating the commandery.⁴

In the early 1270s Marmelar was geographically remote from the core of the Hospitallers' Portuguese estates. The Order of St John settled there primarily because it was an international order not exclusively dependent on the Castilian monarchy. The commandery of Marmelar gained great importance because of a relic, believed to be a fragment of the True Cross. The date at which the relic was acquired by the church is difficult to determine. The earliest surviving record to mention it is a testament drawn up by King Dinis in 1322, which unfortunately does not shed any light on the earlier history of the relic.⁵

The association of the Hospitallers with the True Cross was not a Portuguese innovation. In the 1170s Pope Alexander III emphasized that the Hospitallers' first commitment was to the sick and that they should take part in military campaigns only because the relic of the True Cross accompanied the Christian army.⁶ In this way, the True Cross legitimized military action for the Hospitallers. The belief in the invincibility of the Cross and its power was undoubtedly the greatest reason behind the high esteem and wide diffusion of Holy Cross relics in medieval Europe.

The first patron saint of Marmelar had been St Pedro, but sometime between 1328 and 1397 the commandery had changed its patronage to the True Cross.⁷ The reason for this seems to have been the victory of the joined armies of Portugal and Castile against the armies of Morocco and Granada at the Battle of Salado in October 1340, which had enhanced the reputation of the commandery.⁸ According

to a narrative incorporated in the *Livro de Linhagens* (and rewritten between 1380 and 1383), the Christian armies had carried a fragment of the True Cross onto the battlefield at Salado.⁹ According to the *Livro* the relic had been kept in the church of the Hospitallers at Marmelar, from where it was brought to the army by either King Alfonso IV of Portugal or by the Hospitaller Prior Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira, who ordered a priest to display it to the local populace.¹⁰ According to the same tradition, the relic had been lost during transport but was recovered by three Hospitaller knights and eventually ensured the Christian army's victory against the Muslim enemy 'for the salvation of the faith of Jesus Christ and the whole of Christianity'.¹¹

The *Chronicle of Alfonso IV* (written in 1419) contains a similar tale of the miracle of the relic at the Battle of Salado but says nothing about the identity of the carrier of the relic or the veracity of the story.¹² This and the aforementioned *Livro de Linhagens* are the oldest sources to recount the presence of the relic in the battle. In contrast to them, the Castilian sources do not mention any divine intervention.

The story has four major themes:

- 1 Before the battle, Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira prophesied that Alfonso IV would be granted victory by carrying the True Cross of Marmelar into battle.
- 2 An appeal for divine intervention is made in response to the perils and difficulties faced by the Christians during the battle.
- 3 The relic of the True Cross is taken to the battlefield on the orders of Alfonso IV (or on the initiative of Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira).
- 4 In the battle the Christian fighters see the True Cross, which inspires them to regroup, gather their strength and snatch victory from the jaws of defeat.

It should be noted that the divine characteristics of the *Lignum Crucis* were also emphasized in the *Chronicle of Alfonso IV*, where the relic was held aloft during the battle leading one knight to recite a passage from Psalm 67: *Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius*.

According to the two Portuguese narratives, the True Cross performed three functions: first, it provided service to the king; second, it facilitated the interplay of religious and military ideals; and third, it enacted the salvation of Christendom, legitimizing the role of the Order of St John. In the *Livro de Linhagens*, the Pereira family emerged as the guardians of the True Cross of Marmelar, embodying the ideals of the Iberian military elite, and also as members of the Order of the Hospital.¹³ The text, which was described as a 'crusade-based memory' by Luís Krus, emphasizes the leading role of the Pereira family and establishes a link between them and the monarchy through the shared ideal of crusading and association with the True Cross.¹⁴

These historical developments resulted in rivalry and conflict between the noble families of the Góis-Farinha and Pereira, as each developed strategies to dominate the territory. Each of the two families followed a different approach with regard to Marmelar: the Góis-Farinha, whose ancestor Afonso Peres Farinha had founded

the commandery in the second-half of the thirteenth century, emphasized historical tradition and the commandery's ties to the Portuguese Crown. The Pereira began a cycle of territorial appropriation and building construction and also produced a written memory, the aforementioned *Livro de Linhagens*.

The importance of the Battle of Salado was immediately acknowledged by the Hospitallers, who, together with the Pereira family, soon set in motion a programme to strengthen the Order's presence in Alentejo, the district where the commandery of Marmelar was located and the fragment of the True Cross was kept. As master of the Order of St John in Portugal, Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira constructed a castle at Amieira (1356–1362), revealing the need to appropriate the territory between Amieira and Flor da Rosa, thereby incorporating Marmelar, which had traditionally been associated with the Góis family. He also commissioned a bronze epitaph to be displayed at the monastery of Leça do Balio in honour of his great uncle, Prior Estêvão Vasques Pimentel, thus incorporating the monastery into his family's cultural sphere by creating a linkage with the Hospitallers' first conventual house in Portugal that at the same time emphasized his own authority over the institution which he presided over as prior at the time.¹⁵ Pereira also donated a reliquary and a processional cross with his family's coat of arms to Marmelar in an effort to further reinforce his family's association with that commandery. The medieval components of Marmelar's treasury, consisting of a tabernacle (or edicule) containing the *Lignum Crucis* relic and a processional cross, illustrate the artistic connection between the Hospitallers' Portuguese commanderies and Europe more broadly.

The reliquary of the True Cross

Because of its role in the victory of the battle of Salado, the relic of the True Cross features strongly in chronicles, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century hagiography and also in Portuguese historiography. According to tradition the relic kept in the monastery of Vera Cruz de Marmelar had been brought there in the 1270s by Afonso Peres Farinha. However, the earliest known documental reference to connect the relic directly to Marmelar is the aforementioned will of King Dinis written in 1322. The earliest document referring to the monastery as the patron of the True Cross dates from 5 May 1397.¹⁶ According to the hagiographic literature of the seventeenth century the relic was promised to the bishopric of Évora, but through miraculous intervention it remained in Marmelar.

In the church of Marmelar the niche that surrounded the True Cross in the Middle Ages is still partially present. It is likely that since the eighteenth century, the reliquary of the True Cross was kept in an edicule of sculpted marble enclosed by two doors made from gilded and polychrome wood. Carved at the top is the cross of the Order of St John, while carved at the bottom is the coat of arms of the Pereira family. The edicule is located in the medieval niche, where the aforementioned cross and coat of arms had to be partially cut so that the late eighteenth-century reliquary that holds the relic could be accommodated. The shrine of the

True Cross of the Sanctuary of Caravaca de la Cruz in Murcia (Spain) has a similar configuration to the edicule of the True Cross of Marmelar.¹⁷

The shrine of Caravaca is made of silver and plated with gold ($27.2 \times 13 \times 5$ cm). It was a donation made by the master of Santiago, Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, in 1390. The doors of this shrine bear the benefactor's coat of arms and are engraved with a two-armed cross in the form of the original relic.¹⁸ Taking into account the form of the Marmelar reliquary and the position of the coats of arms of the Hospital and the Pereira family, it is possible that this eighteenth-century reliquary replaced a medieval one of a smaller dimension (similar in size to the Caravaca piece). This is supported by evidence from seventeenth-century documents which mention an earlier reliquary made of silver and plated with gold. The reliquary that exists today in the church of Marmelar is a silver filigree piece, probably of Sicilian design. It has been dated reliably to the last third of the eighteenth century.¹⁹

The processional cross

The second object mentioned earlier is the processional cross of Vera Cruz de Marmelar. It is an exceptional example of sacred gold jewellery from medieval Portugal. Nuno Vassalo e Silva has attributed the manufacture of this cross to Catalan workshops, suggesting more specifically those of Barcelona.²⁰ This attribution, which we consider as hypothetical because it lacks of documentation, is based on observations about style and technique. The polylobed plaques on the obverse of the cross contain a thick layer of translucent enamels over an engraved white-silver covering, some of them now lost. In fact, the presence of translucent enamels on the cross and vegetal motifs, engraved in the surface, have other parallels in the production of Catalan jewellery, which was intensively produced in the realms of the Crown of Aragon during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The workshops used several gold-working techniques and the surviving pieces are of great quality.²¹ In Barcelona assay marks were used before 1315, which shows that there were guilds and that attention was paid to the quality of the product and control of the metals used.²² One of the features of Catalan jewellery from the second-half of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth century is the use of translucent enamels, which were produced in Siena.²³ This technique consists of applying of the enamel over a silver or gold plate previously engraved or chiselled in *basse taille*. Difficult to master, this technique achieves transparency and produces light effects of great refinement and aesthetic quality.

Paulo Valente suggests the third quarter of the fourteenth century as the probable date for the production of the processional cross of Vera Cruz de Marmelar.²⁴ He follows the opinion of Núria de Dalmases i Balaña, who emphasized the cross's formal and technical features, which were representative of Catalan-Aragonese production, as well as the figures and the translucent enamels of saturated colours over a blue background, which resulted from the assimilation of Italian models.²⁵ The discovery of a possible assay, or goldsmith mark, resembling the letter M suggests a possible origin from Morella or Majorca.²⁶ The Cross of Santa Eulàlia (Barcelona) bought in 1383 by Francesco Vilardell, a master silversmith active in

Barcelona between 1383 and 1423, contains features similar to those of the processional cross of Marmelar.²⁷ These include a *fleur-de-lis* profile, a decoration of vine leaves and the use of translucent enamels over *basse taille*, although the rest of the naturalistic decoration is more extravagant than that of the Marmelar cross.²⁸ The arrival in Catalonia of the Siennese technique of using translucent enamels, which replaced the opaque enamels from the limousine tradition, was not solely a result of the transmission of Siennese goods by trade, but was also a result of the presence of Italian craftsmen in Iberia, such as Tuccio de Siena, who was in the service of James II.²⁹

Another example comes in the form of a small altar cross (11.2 × 9.6cm) dating from 1330–1335 and believed to be of Catalan origin, which is presently kept in the British Museum. Although it does not resemble the Marmelar cross very much, except for a *fleur-de-lis* profile, it shares one feature with the latter that so far has not been analyzed: in both cases the polylobed plates are not placed before the ends of the cross-arms but included in the same space as them, which is an unusual design feature for a Catalonian workshop; another related piece, the True Cross stauroteka from La Lonja in Barcelona, which has been dated to the middle of the fourteenth century, does not share this feature. However, it does contain residuals of translucent enamels and has a pearl motif running along the borders of the cross.

One item worth mentioning among the artefacts of Catalonian origin that resemble the Marmelar cross is a cross in the Memphis Brooks Museum that has been dated to c.1390.³⁰ This cross has the assay mark of the city of Barcelona. The translucent enamels over polylobed plates resemble the ones of the Marmelar cross. Depicted on the cross in the Memphis Brooks Museum are figures of Our Lady and of St John, as well as the symbols of the four evangelists. The central plate on the front side of the cross bears some resemblance with that on the cross at Vera Cruz de Marmelar. Depicted on the reverse side of the plate is a figure of the Christ in Majestyt, as can be found on the back of the Marmelar cross. The obvious similarities between the Marmelar cross and the ones produced in Catalonian workshops in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries suggest that it is of similar age. Paulo Valente has proposed the third quarter of the fourteenth century as its likely date of production, adding that because engraved on it are the arms of the Pereira and of the Hospital it must have been a donation from Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira (c.1310–1380).³¹

Special mention must be made of a document, published by Núria Dalmasas, which records the arrival in Lisbon of two Catalonian silversmiths, Pere Rocha and Bartomeu Salvador, in 1404. On 12 July 1404 these two craftsmen, both citizens of Barcelona, agreed with the merchant Pere Orts that they should move to Lisbon for three years to work in the manufacturing of silverware and other businesses.³² Were there Catalonian silversmiths in Portugal prior to this date? Only further documental research can answer this question. However, it seems safe to conclude that the increase in the wealth of Marmelar at this time should be evaluated in the context of increasing devotion to the relic of the True Cross and the desire to connect the commanderies of the Hospitallers in Portugal artistically with the rest of Europe.

As has been pointed out, the Pereira family had commissioned the two most important medieval objects given to Marmelar. We therefore need to take into account the building campaign launched on behalf of Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira at Flor da Rosa from 1341 onwards.³³ Why was Flor da Rosa built in the mid-fourteenth century? It makes little sense from an economic perspective.³⁴ From an architectural viewpoint, Flor da Rosa was built as a monastic complex with a powerful military appearance, although its central feature was a church the intention of which was to offer charitable support. The Order was able to renew itself by asserting its military power in a crusade context. The monastic complex of Flor da Rosa thus functioned as a form of 'double memorial'. First, it was a memorial for the Pereira family. Second, it was a memorial for the Battle of Salado, which had taken place on Castilian soil. In fact, the battle is commemorated in two Hospitaller monasteries: Flor da Rosa, where Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira, the hero of the battle, is buried, and that of Marmelar with its reliquary of the True Cross. Both the families of Góis and Pereira wished to relate the story of the relic and to use it to legitimize their actions. And both wished to be connected to Flor da Rosa and Marmelar: Prior Afonso Peres Farinha was buried at Marmelar, and Prior Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira was buried at Flor da Rosa, the latter alongside three other knights who had been looking with him for the True Cross.³⁵

As a consequence, the following points should be stressed: first, the growing reputation of the Marmelar commandery justified its association with some important men from the king's social circle. Marmelar was managed by important knights, some who, like Lourenço Esteves de Góis, were Hospitaller priors,³⁶ and who also included one great chancellor of Rhodes, André do Amaral.³⁷ Second, the Order of St John 'refounded' itself and consequently transferred its conventual headquarters from Leça do Balio in the north of the country to Flor da Rosa. This was a significant change. By making this choice, the Order was seemingly attempting to re-create on Portuguese soil a kind of second Rhodes, which may have inspired the name of the new monastery of Flor da Rosa (from the Greek *rhodon*, or *rose*, – *rosa* in Portuguese). The Order was creating a new image, highlighting its capacity for military intervention and its links with Jerusalem at a time when crusading was becoming a crucial matter. Third, these monasteries adopted a crusading profile, which greatly exceeded their local existence in the south of Portugal. They expressed a set of references associated with Christendom. Both families, the Góis and the Pereira, needed to expand their influence in the Iberian peninsula. As the epigraph in Marmelar about Afonso Peres Farinha aptly reminds us, he lived at a time when *fuit lucrata tota Andalocia per christianos*.³⁸ The Pereira family expressed its commitment to Iberia through Gonçalo Peres Pereira, Great Commander in the Five Spanish Kingdoms, and by Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira, the hero of the Battle of Salado.³⁹

To conclude, Vera Cruz de Marmelar and Flor da Rosa were converted into representations of the Latin East. They had high symbolic significance. Here, the Hospitallers re-created a kind of Jerusalem (because of the True Cross) and a kind of Rhodes (at Flor da Rosa they invoked the toponym of Rhodes). In this sense, the Order assumed a rhetorical cycle, reinforcing its identity and justifying its role

in the historical scenario of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴⁰ These circumstances gave Marmelar an added value which raised the commandery to an important level way beyond its material revenue.

Notes

- 1 'A Comenda de Marmelar. Corpus Documental (1258–1640)', ed. L. A. Fonseca, P. P. Costa and J. Lencart, *MOA*, 16 (2013), doc. 1. For an overview of Marmelar in this period, see 'Comendas das Ordens Militares: perfil nacional e inserção internacional. Noudar e Vera Cruz de Marmelar', ed. L. A. Fonseca, *MOA*, 17 (2013).
- 2 *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*, ed. L. Ventura and A. R. Oliveira, vol. 1 (Coimbra, 2006), p. 290.
- 3 *A Comenda de Marmelar*, docs. 8 and 9 (April 1271). For Afonso Peres Farinha, see L. Ventura, *A nobreza de corte de Afonso III*, 2 vols (Coimbra, 1992), II, pp. 746–7; M. J. Barroca, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa*, 4 vols (Lisbon, 2000), II, book 1, pp. 947–950; J.A.S. Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais portuguesas. Genealogias e estratégias (1279–1325)*, 3 vols (Porto, 1999), II, pp. 468–9.
- 4 *A Comenda de Marmelar*, doc. 11 (October 1271), doc. 12 (April 1274).
- 5 *A Comenda de Marmelar*, doc. 15.
- 6 *CH*, I, no. 429; J. Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers and Templars: Two Very Different Orders* (Notre Dame, 2008), p. 255.
- 7 See Barroca, *Epigrafia*, II, book 1, pp. 1024–25 with notes; *A Comenda de Marmelar*, doc. 17. L. M. C. Rosas & P. P. Costa, 'Vera Cruz de Marmelar: a intervenção de Afonso Peres Farinha', *População e Sociedade*, 22 (2014), pp. 177–192; available at: <http://www.cepesepublicacoes.pt/portal/pt/obras/populacao-e-sociedade-n-o-22>
- 8 A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV e XV* (Lisbon, 1987), pp. 495–505.
- 9 The *Livro de Linhagens*, a book of lineages, had been commissioned by Pedro Alfonso, an illegitimate son of King Dinis, who had married the daughter of the lord of Portel. Conde D. Pedro, 'Livro de Linhagens', ed. J. Mattoso, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Nova Série*, II (Lisbon, 1980), pp. 41–2; M. R. Ferreira, 'A estratégia genealógica de D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos, e as refundições do Livro de Linhagens', in *Legitimação e Linhagem na Idade Média. Homenagem a D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos*, ed. G. Martin and J.C.R. Miranda (Porto, 2011), pp. 99–129. L. F. Oliveira, 'Pedro de Barcelos', in *P&C*, p. 701; A. R. Oliveira, 'O genealogista e as suas linhagens: D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos', in *Legitimação e Linhagem na Idade Média. Homenagem a D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos*, ed. G. Martin and J. C. R. Miranda (Porto, 2011), pp. 369–89.
- 10 Conde D. Pedro, *Livro de Linhagens*, ed. J. Mattoso, p. 244.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 247–8, 257.
- 12 Rui de Pina, 'Crónica do Senhor Rey D. Afonso V', in *Crônicas de Rui de Pina*, ed. M. L. de Almeida (Porto, 1977), cap. LIX.
- 13 L. Krus, *A concepção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico (1280–1380)* (Lisbon, 1994), p. 312.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 333; P. P. Costa, 'Uma cultura de guerra aquém e além da fronteira: A Ordem do Hospital no contexto da batalha de Aljubarrota', in *Actas das VI Jornadas Luso-espanholas de Estudos Medievais. A guerra e a sociedade na Idade Média*, 1 (Campo Militar de S. Jorge, 2009), pp. 591–614. B. V. e Sousa, 'A narrativa sobre a Batalha do Salado no Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro', in *História da Literatura Portuguesa. Das Origens ao Cancioneiro Geral*, 1 (Mem Martins, 2001), pp. 253–62.
- 15 For the castle of Amieira, see M. J. Barroca, 'Os castelos das Ordens Militares em Portugal (séc. XII a XIV)', in *Mil Anos de Fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (500–1500)*, *Actas do Simpósio Internacional sobre Castelos* (Palmela, 2002), p. 539. For Estêvão Vasques Pimentel see M. J. Barroca, *Epigrafia medieval portuguesa: 862–1422* (3 vols., Lisbon, 2000), II, book 2, pp. 1580–93; P. P. Costa

- and L. Rosas, *Leça do Balio no tempo dos Cavaleiros do Hospital* (Lisbon, 2001), p. 102.
- 16 *A Comenda de Marmelar*, doc. 17.
- 17 P. Valente, *Arte Sacra do Concelho de Portel. Inventário Artístico da Arquidiocese de Évora* (Évora, 2010), p. 64.
- 18 I. Pozo Martínez, 'Donantes y Limosnas a la Santa Vera Cruz de Caravaca (secs. XIV–XIX)', *Murgetana*, 118 (2008), 60.
- 19 Valente, *Arte Sacra*, p. 62.
- 20 A. Pagará, N. V. e Silva and V. Serrão, *Igreja Santa Vera Cruz de Marmelar* (Portel, 2006), p. 186.
- 21 M. L. Ansón, 'El Lignum Crucis da la Catedral de Sevilla: nuevos dados para su interpretación a la luz de los documentos', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 76, no. 301 (2003), 23.
- 22 D. Vilarubias i Cuadras, 'La creu processional major de Santa Maria d'Igualada, una mostra destacada de l'argenteria catalana del quatre-cents (s. XV)', *Miscellanea Aqualatensis*, 10 (2002), 176.
- 23 N. de Dalmases i Balaña, *Orfebreria catalana medieval: Barcelona 1300–1500*, vol. 2: *Argenters i Documents* (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 1–8.
- 24 Valente, *Arte Sacra*, pp. 60–1.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 61.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 J. M. Martí i Bonet, 'Creu de Santa Eulàlia de Barcelona', *Taüll*, 2 (Junho-julho) (2009), 4–5.
- 28 J. Duran-Porta, 'La orfebrería', in *El Gótico en las colecciones del MNAC*, ed. R. Cornudella, C. Favà, G. Macias (Barcelona, 2011), p. 210.
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 Valente, *Arte Sacra*, p. 61.
- 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 60–1.
- 32 de Dalmases i Balaña, *Orfebreria catalana*, II, p. 230.
- 33 ANTT, *Gaveta VI*, m. 1, no. 212 and *L.N., Guadiana*, l. 8, fol. 69r–v.
- 34 P. P. Costa, 'As adaptações das Ordens Militares aos desafios da "crise" tardo-medieval', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto. História*, 3rd. ser., 5 (2004), 143–54.
- 35 *A Comenda de Marmelar*, doc. 14.
- 36 *Ibid.*, doc. 18.
- 37 *Ibid.*, doc. 59.
- 38 *Ibid.*, doc. 7.
- 39 J. A. S. Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais portuguesas. Genealogias e estratégias (1279–1325)*, (3 vols., Porto, 1999), vol. 2, pp. 302–4 and 308.
- 40 This is discussed in L. A. Fonseca, *Comendas das Ordens Militares: perfil nacional e inserção internacional. Noudar e Vera Cruz de Marmelar* (Porto, 2013), *passim*.

14 The military orders and the local population in Italy

Connections and conflicts

Mariarosaria Salerno

The military orders in the *Societas Christiana*

The role of the laity in the *Societas Christiana* has long been examined by historians. The relations between the laity on the one hand and ecclesiastical officials, clergy and monks on the other reflect the dualism between the Church and the secular world that is characteristic of medieval society; that narrow link between the spiritual and the material which was a constant feature of daily life in the Middle Ages.¹ The military orders belonged to society as a whole, but in order to understand which role they played in lay society specifically, their individual characteristics and the context in which they operated need to be examined carefully.

The Templars and Hospitallers were directly accountable to the pope; they came under his protection and were exempt from the jurisdiction of bishops and the payment of tithes. They were authorized to collect alms, to establish churches, oratories and cemeteries and to bury the dead. These functions attracted benefactors to the military orders, but they were also the cause of many conflicts with local parish authorities.² As Marsilio of Padua pointed out, the Templars and Hospitallers were *ab humanibus legibus civilibus rite latis exempti*.³ It is clear that the military orders were considered a privileged category and this led the secular powers to express their dissatisfaction at the spread of privileges to the *fratres milites*.

The status of the Templars' and Hospitallers' European estates serves as an important indicator of how Christians in the West felt towards the Holy Land. The orders were a reminder of the importance of the function of the estates in the Levant, whose central mission was the succour of Christians, especially the poor and pilgrims. This function stimulated not only the vocations of new brethren to the orders, but also the adhesion of *confratres* and *donati*. They were the basis of the recruitment of the new *fratres* to the main convent.⁴ Templar and Hospitaller estates in the West had to produce wealth and transfer men and money to sustain the brethren, their retainers and the poor in the East. Although this was a feature of all military orders, the latter showed differences among themselves depending on the region their estates were located in.

However, it is not appropriate to generalize and to make simplifications on the basis of distant geographical surroundings in very different social, economic and

political contexts. The military orders also found it hard to adapt and reconcile to diverse local requirements.

In fact, their aims were affected by the context. For example, in the Holy Land, military activity was strictly necessary, which was not the case in western regions, where the military orders' religious model was based mainly on providing spiritual and social support both to the East and the West.

Owing to its geographical position, the main function in Southern Italy was to give support to the crusader states. The Kingdom of Sicily provided transport to the Levant for important people and allowed private merchants to export merchandise from the Kingdom. Southern Italy facilitated the passage of crusaders and other individuals with their supplies and equipment, allowing the military orders to provide for their establishments in the Holy Land from the Kingdom and to send large amounts of foodstuffs and military equipment. In a territory of such strategic importance because of its close connections with the Levant, the Templars and Hospitallers established their settlements quite early and, thus, soon developed relations with the local populace.⁵

Leaving aside the great lay powers and the papacy, which promoted the settlement and the development of the two orders in the Kingdom, this chapter aims to delineate those elements that characterized the settlements of the Templars and Hospitallers in the economic and social composition of the area here studied, analyzing them through examples of their relations with the local society. This will be done through an examination of the context in which these relations developed, of the social and local political dynamics, and the level of competition with the other ecclesiastical institutions, in particular those giving assistance to the locality.

***Fraternitas* and material exchanges**

The local society was able to support the mission of the military orders mainly through donations of money (usually considerable amounts) but also through grants of land, houses, livestock and so forth. These material exchanges were the expression of the relations between the laity and the brethren.⁶

The collection of alms was a fundamental function of both the Templars and Hospitallers, as it was of other medieval charitable orders. Such alms were set aside for the support of their charitable buildings. This was a common phenomenon in the late medieval Christian world, and it was expressed in many ways. The *fraternitas* was a means for the laity and clergy to sustain the communities of the orders founded in the Holy Land, and it oversaw annual or single contributions, *cessio bonorum* or animals, to the religious institutions. This was the principal means for encouraging contributions from both laypersons and clergy.⁷

As well as the fully professed *fratres*, the military orders managed the presence of other people, who are referred to in documents as *confratres*, donats, oblates or *conversi*. The most interesting practice, often mentioned in the documents from Southern Italy, is related to donations by oblates and *confratres*.

Written sources up to the thirteenth century do not allow us to clearly distinguish roles and privileges, so that the words *confrater* and donat or oblate are used as synonyms, as was the case of other religious communities.⁸ According to the common distinction, the *confrater* shared the spiritual benefits arising from masses, prayers, charity and some kind of material charity, such as jurisdictional and fiscal immunities; he had the right to be buried in the orders' cemeteries but did not have any specific obligations during his lifetime, for example an early donation of money or land.

Placing himself and his properties into the hands and for the benefit of the order, the oblate, or donat, resided in a preceptory, sometimes had managerial powers and could enjoy exemption from secular jurisdiction.⁹ In Southern Italy, the term *oblatus* seemed to prevail over that of *donatus*, as it did in Southern France. Houses, vineyards, plots of land in Melfi, Venosa and Forenza in Basilicata became part of the Templar patrimony thanks to the legacies of the oblates.¹⁰ Regarding the Hospitallers, documents from the fourteenth century mention oblates and *confratres* affiliated to their houses. In 1307, the son of a judge went to the preceptor of Monopoli to offer his services and his personal possessions to the Priory of Barletta. Even though he lived in lodgings belonging to a Benedictine monastery, he was exempt from every charge and tax because 'he had board and clothing from the Hospitallers as *oblatus*'.¹¹ It seems that there was not much difference between the two *statuses*: according to the papal inquiry of 1373 into the Hospitallers, two *confratres* lived in the priory of Capua and were both engaged in particular tasks in the *domus*. The first was a *negotiorum gestor*, the second was a *cellarius*.¹² In the priory of Barletta, there was a *frater sacerdos* who, before becoming 'fully professed', had been an oblate in the Order for seven years, in the same priory, and there were also two other *confratres*, one who was the priest and chaplain of the church of the preceptory and salaried by the Order. Two secular priests, oblates of the order lived in the *domus* of Corato, one who was the son of a notary. Another old priest, an oblate of the *domus* of Santo Stefano of Monopoli, took care of the Hospitallers' goods in Massafra.¹³

In 1430, an oblate of the Hospital received a land donation in Modugno from a citizen resident in the town.¹⁴ Such practices must have been quite widespread at the time, especially within the military orders, but not always with laudable aims. For example, in 1307, King Robert of Naples observed that 'some citizens [. . .] abusively wear the clothing of the Templars, Hospitallers or other religious orders.'¹⁵ It is, therefore, not clear to what extent the devotion of believers went hand in hand with the practical needs of protecting land or bypassing the excessive requests of the *Curia Regis*. The practice was already in use in the Norman period, and it was common to all religious orders. Within this jurisdiction, donats were either resident in the ecclesiastic institution they had donated themselves to, or they continued to enjoy their properties, at times paying a small fee, with the advantage that their goods would eventually become Church property. In 1332, the oblates of the Hospitallers were even granted a general exemption from taxes by Robert of Naples.¹⁶

All the transactions deriving from oblates combined both economical and spiritual features, they led to the establishment of relationships of continuity between Templar and Hospitaller houses and the lay world and they represented an openness towards local society. It was the system based on the *caritas*, and on generalized exchange, which developed in various ways in the territories of the medieval West.¹⁷ The *fraternitates* had the same characteristics in the different orders, military and charitable. These common features were confirmed by the papacy in the thirteenth century, in particular in the *Si iuxta sententiam* and *Cum dilectis filiis* bulls, the latter being the most detailed document dealing with the procedure of collecting alms.¹⁸ However, through the deliberations of the III and IV Lateran Councils, the Church tried to limit the privileges of the *fraternitas* exclusively to the oblates, though to little effect.¹⁹ The direct dependence on the papacy often allowed the Templars and Hospitallers to be privileged. For example, the Benedictine monasteries of Santa Eufemia in Calabria, Santo Stefano of Monopoli in Apulia and the Santissima Trinità of Venosa in Basilicata, with their extensive estates, were transferred to the Hospital by the pope.²⁰ The *domus* could easily find room in the Kingdom of Naples, as one can see from the concentration of early gifts and legacies to the military orders. This led to the creation of a fortune, most of all in real estate, even though the economic impact was not so marked at the local level. The *domus* managed to create their own, at times, important dimension, owing to the relationships with the representatives of the local society, but overall thanks to the great powers they had acquired.

Because of the widespread diffusion of Templar properties in these territories, it would seem that the Templars owed more to the private initiatives of individuals than the Hospitallers. The Templar house of Capua probably originated from a '*pro salute animarum*' legacy; the Templars were granted a house in San Germano (now called Cassino) from the abbey of Montecassino. Moreover, in the area of Mileto, the land of Santa Barbara was given to the Order for agricultural use by Roberto de Say, Count of Loritello. He made his grant to the Order 'to subsidize the militia in the service of Christ' and the meritorious work of the Templars. The documents also demonstrate the tendency of the count to welcome Hospitaller structures into his fiefdom.²¹

The local church powers, in particular bishops, as well as the members of the lay feudality (such as Lady Emma of Montescaglioso, Count Ruggero of Andria and Count Hugo of Macula) granted properties to the Calabrian and Apulian Hospitallers. The first information we have regarding the Hospital of San Giovanni in Naples dates back to 1186 and is linked to a legacy of Tufina, the daughter of Adimari.²² Even the properties of the Hospital of Terlizzi in Apulia seem to derive from a donation made in 1199 by a certain Giovenale, a local man who gave a third of his wealth to the Order.²³ The Order also received donations in Aversa from a man from Isernia.²⁴ With small offerings and testamentary donations of land, *pro anima* of the donors and their relatives, such as the one to the Hospital of Capua in 1185, the picture becomes more complex because of a social differentiation of the donors themselves.²⁵ Some testamentary donations in favour of the other priory, Barletta, are attested to in the second half of the fourteenth

century when a local noble, who donated a mattress, also promised to donate an estate in case of the death of his heirs. A widow donated one *uncia* to the Hospital, and a priest ordered that he be buried in San Giovanni Gerosolimitano and gave money so that a mass could be celebrated yearly on the anniversary of his death.²⁶ Also the *domus* of Trani received a testamentary donation in 1244, and in 1284 San Giovanni of Naples received a donation of houses by a member of the Afflito family of Scala.²⁷

Testamentary donations are also attested in the fifteenth century. A lady willed a house situated in Bisceglie to the Hospital of Saint Giovanni Gerosolimitano, *pro anima*. A widow from Modugno bequeathed a house situated in Bari to the church of the Hospital of San Giovanni Battista in her town, *pro anima* of her parents and her dead husband.²⁸ *Confratres*, oblates and donats in general seemed to belong to various classes of the local society, and they all lived very close to the *domus* that received the donations. There were many middle-class people belonging to the notarial and legal profession, but they were interested in spiritual benefits arising from the donations to the military orders (legacies *pro anima* and suffrage masses) rather than in business and other exchanges, with the exception of two attested donations from the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. These dealt with other kinds of transactions, such as a barter and a sale in Apulia between the Hospitalers and the local people.²⁹

Although few documents have survived on the matter, the number of early donations of different value to the military orders proves that the latter soon integrated in the society of the Kingdom of Sicily, which honoured not only the military orders' charitable work, but also their way of life. Conversely, in the Levant, donations appeared to be more self-interested than those in the West.

Assistance, *cura animarum* and property rights: conflicts with other ecclesiastical bodies

The military orders with their extensive properties, their religious, charitable and military purpose and their economic advantages, inevitably clashed with the local clergy and other religious orders, primarily because the situation in the West was very different from that of the Holy Land where armed brethren were irreplaceable. Except for some donations and some mentions in the documents of collaboration between the military orders and other ecclesiastics from the same areas, the sources mainly mention disputes and matters of defence of personal interest.

Templars and Hospitalers in Southern Italy did not fail in their charitable duties. Many houses regularly welcomed the poor, offering them food and supplies, but eventually the hospitality in the commanderies became sporadic and was gradually replaced with alms.³⁰ Templar hospices could be found in Capua, Atessa and Lecce, and *stationes* (reception camps) were found in Melfi. Hospitaler hospices could be found at the priories of Capua and Barletta, and in Naples, the capital of the Kingdom. They were all still active in the second part of the fourteenth century, although one hospice, in Sessa, was recorded as no longer in

use.³¹ These hospices offered a service to the poor and to wayfarers; they also offered an effective mechanism for obtaining consent and gaining legacies and donations in return.³²

We do not have many documents which illustrate the role played by the orders' churches in the towns and the countryside, where the engagement in charitable activity and *cura animarum* was probably most intense. The churches of the military orders competed with parish churches and with other religious institutions which attempted to oppose them.³³ For example, the Templar house of San Germano was obtained on the condition made by Pope Alexander III that the Templars should not build any church or oratory, or buy any land from vassals, in order to protect the interests of the Benedictine monastery of Cassino.³⁴ With the passing of time, there were fewer priests in the military orders who could look after the churches and say mass, but the orders employed salaried secular priests, oblates or *confratres*, as has been noted for the Hospitallers.

The problem of protecting the prerogatives of ecclesiastic jurisdiction and religious control of the territory from the secular clergy came to the fore in a dispute in 1219, when Pope Honorius III ordered an inquiry into the intrigues of the old bishop of Trani against the Hospitallers of Barletta regarding the building of an oratory. Some years later, the bishop of Troia tried, by violent means, to prevent a church of the Hospital from gaining parish status and, in another case, attempted to turn a church into an oratory.³⁵ There were also disputes regarding property rights. Acquiring property and estates in the West was strictly linked to the practices of the seigniorial powers.³⁶ Once again, turbulent relationships emerged between military orders and the entire local society, not only with other ecclesiastics.

In 1210, Pope Innocent III had to call for arbitration because the bishop of Andria in Apulia had occupied a farmhouse claimed by the Hospitallers of Barletta. At the end of the century, both the pope and the king were obliged to act in defence of the preceptory of the Hospitallers of Salerno and Eboli because of violent acts and stealing by the archbishop of Salerno's men. There are also records of disputes with other religious orders between the thirteenth and the fourteenth century: San Martino of Molfetta, under the powerful abbey of Cava, and the Hospitallers in Apulia often accused each other of occupying their respective properties and of perpetuating violent acts that required interventions by the pope and the king. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the pope intervened to try to clarify an issue about the allocation of two *granges* between the churches in the Dioceses of Catanzaro and Santa Severina in Calabria claimed by the Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria of Corazzo but entrusted to a knight of the Hospital of Naples.³⁷ Also in Southern Italy disputes were settled between the Hospitallers and the Templars who, just like in the East, could not manage their own authority and were not able to use military skills, which were to be employed only during the battles against infidels and in the defence of Christianity. In 1199, the pope advised them to resolve their disputes before him according to law and not through violent acts.³⁸

Laymen, rights and usurpation

The presence of laymen working in the preceptories led to a wide variety of relationships, each reflecting the regional contexts in which the various aspects and aims of the two military orders prevailed.

In Southern Italy, the end of the Swabian domination and the accession of the Angevin Charles I to the throne meant, for the military orders, the restitution of their properties and the reorganization and strengthening of their possessions around specific centres, such as casals. A feature of the Templars' presence in these regions was the recovery of abandoned farmhouses and villages or fortified structures which, although no longer operative, were located in strategic positions (like the casals of San Martino near Forenza in Basilicata, San Salvatore in Abruzzo and Androna in Calabria). San Martino was a casal of thirty *foculares* (dwellings), *constructum de novo* by the Templars, who intervened in favour of their poor inhabitants on whose behalf they asked the king not to impose unfair taxes. In the casal of Androna, the Templars claimed rights over the vassals, which they were denied to the point that the Angevin authorities had to intervene to protect the Templars' privileges, mostly concerning the levy on lumber.³⁹ This was one of the most fundamental causes of contention in the rural society of medieval Southern Italy. The origins of the conflict may have been connected to the organization of feudal property, which limited the people's traditional free use of woods and their resources, a right that local populations would have continued to claim for some time to come.⁴⁰ Waters, pasturelands and woods were part of the orders' patrimonies and they crossed, and sometimes clashed, with local dynamics, as happened in Seminara in Calabria, where the Templar *domus* was damaged by local people.⁴¹

In 1244, Pope Innocent IV denounced the secular clergy of Marca Teatina and Capitanata for harassing the Templars in those areas. He stated that peasants and feudatories had been disrespectful towards an order that had endured so many costs and sacrifices for the military cause in the Holy Land and for the restoration of villages and castles in those regions.⁴² Local people of power and royal officials also frequently tried to usurp the rights of the Hospitallers over the important capitular preceptory⁴³ of the Santissima Trinità of Venosa, and vassals tried to evade the services due to the preceptory. These conflicts often focussed on rights of jurisdiction in the casals, for example in Corneto, Casalvetere, Vignale, Santa Maria della Rocchetta and Petina. Vassals and other men occupied and damaged Hospitaller estates and farms and took away furniture, tools and animals; there was also an unlawful collection of personal service. The same happened in another capitular preceptory, Santo Stefano of Monopoli, which had many difficulties with the full possession of its casals.⁴⁴

If under the rural seigniorial powers, the work relationships were marked by vassalage and proceeds from estates, in the urban environment, in the largest towns, and especially in the most important houses, there were many salaried workers with various kinds of jobs and duties. From the inquiry into the Hospitallers in 1373, it emerges that in the priory of Capua there were 'salaried workers',

that is to say notaries, grooms and other such people. In the priory of Barletta, there were four grooms, a waiter, a cook, a cellarer, two servants for the prior and an equerry, a servant for the lieutenant, and two lawyers, two prosecutors and a doctor for the patients of the Hospital. In the castle of Guaragnone, a rich dependence of Barletta, lived the guardians, a servant for the transport of water to the castle, a carter for the transport of wood, a baker and a swineherd. In the preceptory of Naples in the service of the lieutenant, worked two grooms, a waiter and a servant. In addition, there was a French cook, a cellarman, a notary and a man and wife who took care of the hospice. The number of lay employees was often higher than the members of the Order, but this was quite usual in the Hospitaller houses assigned to the non-resident commanders and, therefore, managed by the lay procurators, members of the local secondary nobility.⁴⁵ Again in Naples, the integration of the preceptory in the urban social situation is proven by a long record of tenants and dealers, of craftsmen, warehouses, counters, stores, tax offices and inns of the Hospitallers, all situated along the coast and the port-area, which was the most crowded and lively area of the capital of the kingdom from an economic point of view.⁴⁶ Certainly, although the documentation on the Templars is more limited than the one on the Hospitallers, we assume that also the former did not neglect such economic activities, because of the position and vocation of some settlements, such as the Apulian houses, or those along the coast of Abruzzo below Pescara.

The difference between the Holy Land and the West in the objectives of the two military orders derived from the motivation leading to some donations and from the works of the *fratres*. Therefore, it is clear that the real and active participation in the fight against, and defence from, 'the Infidel' was carried out mainly in the East. However, it seems that the military features of the orders, their disregard for danger, their iron discipline and even their economic resources and charitable services were important for the kingdom of Naples and its people. Templars and Hospitallers settled in the localities with their local authorities, at times being conditioned by the local environment. As it has been observed in other western contexts, those supporting the military orders were the extra-urban aristocracy and mainly the middle classes.⁴⁷ The attraction people felt for the military orders was also related to the orders' way of life and functions. It developed only during the centuries in which the crusading spirit was deeply felt. Other orders, in particular the mendicant orders, had a more constant local presence and were thus in tune with the spiritual and material requirements of lay society. However, in Southern Italy, even during the centuries in which the presence of the military orders was more prominent, conflicts with the local populace were noted. Even if their charitable services do not appear to have clashed with those provided by other religious local institutions, their spiritual functions, made possible by their parishes and oratories being independent from the bishops, do appear to have disturbed the secular clergy. This was because the *cura animarum*, with all that concerned the

military orders' relationship with local people, was free from diocesan control. The jurisdictional and economic functions of Templars and Hospitallers, that is to say, the functions that were more worldly and linked to their seigniorial position, were clearly a source of conflict with the clergy and the laity, who struggled to defend both material and intangible rights and boundaries.

Notes

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- 2 L. Garcia-Guijarro Ramos, *Papado, Cruzadas y Órdenes Militares, siglos XI–XIII* (Madrid, 1995), pp. 100–56; C. De Ayala Martínez, 'Espiritualidad y práctica religiosa en las Órdenes Militares. Los orígenes de la espiritualidad militar', in *As Ordens Militares. Freires, guerreiros, cavalleiros*, ed. I. C. Fernandes (Palmela, 2012), pp. 148–54.
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- 8 A. T. Luttrell, 'The Spiritual Life of the Hospitallers of Rhodes', in *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462*, ed. A. T. Luttrell (Aldershot, 1999), IX, p. 89.
- 9 C. de Miramon, *Les "donnés" au moyen âge. Une forme de vie religieuse laïque* (Paris, 1999).
- 10 Salerno, *Les templiers*, p. 131.
- 11 *Le pergamene di Conversano*, ed. D. Morea and F. Muciaccia, Codice diplomatico barese, 17 (Bari, 1943), pp. 130–4.
- 12 M. Salerno and K. Toomaspoeg, *L'inchiesta pontificia del 1373 sugli Ospedalieri di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Bari, 2008), pp. 156–7, 160.
- 13 *Ibid.*, *Inchiesta Diocesi di Trani*, ed. M. Salerno, pp. 230–1, 233, 239, 243; *Inchiesta Diocesi di Mottola*, ed. M. Salerno, p. 251.
- 14 *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari (1329–1439)*, ed. J. Mazzoleni, Codice diplomatico pugliese, 26 (Bari, 1982), p. 89.
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- 21 Salerno, 'Les templiers', pp. 117, 125.
- 22 Salerno, *Le precettorie capitolari*, p. 37.
- 23 *Le pergamene della Cattedrale di Terlizzi*, ed. F. Carabellese, Codice Diplomatico Barese, 3 (Bari, 1899), pp. 203–4.
- 24 CH, II, n. 2771; Salerno and Toomaspoeg, *L'inchiesta pontificia*, p. 55.
- 25 *Le Pergamene di Capua*, ed. J. Mazzoleni, vol. 2 (Naples, 1958), p. 29.
- 26 *Codice diplomatico barlettano*, ed. S. Santeramo, 4 vols (Barletta, 1924–1962), II, p. 338; III, pp. 171–3, 249.
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- 30 See H. Nicholson, 'Charity and Hospitality in Military Orders', in *As Ordens Militares, Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros. Actas do VI Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, ed. I. C. Ferreira Fernandez, 2 vols. (Palmela: GEeOS/Município de Palmela, 2012), I, pp. 193–5 and note 1.
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- 37 Salerno, *Gli Ospedalieri*, pp. 201–2.
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- 39 Salerno, 'Les templiers', pp. 124, 127, 132.
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- 41 M. Montanari, 'Colture, lavori, tecniche, rendimenti', in *Storia dell'agricoltura italiana, vol. II: Il Medioevo e l'età moderna*, ed. G. Pinto, C. Poni and U. Tucci (Florence, 2002), pp. 75–6; M. C. Rugolo, 'Paesaggio boschivo e insediamenti umani nella Calabria medievale', in *Il bosco nel Medioevo*, ed. B. Andreolli and M. Montanari (Bologna, 1988), pp. 321–48; S. Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe: Italy, France, and Flanders* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 82–6. See also *Rivolte urbane e rivolte contadine nell'Europa del Trecento. Un confronto*, ed. M. Bourin, G. Cherubini and G. Pinto (Florence, 2008).
- 42 R. Bevere, 'Notizie storiche tratte dai documenti conosciuti col nome di Arche in carta bambagina', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 25 (1900), 403–4.

- 43 Meaning a preceptory whose commanders were appointed by chapter general or its representatives.
- 44 Salerno, *Le precettorie*, pp. 71–4; 80–1.
- 45 See, in general, Luttrell, ‘The Spiritual’, p. 85.
- 46 Salerno and Toomaspoeg, *L’inchiesta*, pp. 45, 64, 88–9.
- 47 Luttrell, ‘The Spiritual’, p. 85.

15 The Sforzas, the papacy and control of the Hospitaller priory of Lombardy

Second half of the fifteenth century¹

Elena Bellomo

Interference of lay powers in ecclesiastical matters is a phenomenon endemic throughout history. In the Middle Ages secular authorities frequently used ecclesiastical benefices and church prerogatives to effectively control a given territory and support the rise and consolidation of a particular family. This chapter outlines how the Sforzas, *signori* of Milan, tried to control the Hospital of St John in their state. The capillary network of Hospitaller houses in the duchy of Milan, the strategic position of some convents in border areas, and its patrimonial wealth made the Hospital an obvious target for the Sforzas' objectives. Not only did the *signori* of Milan try to control the appointments of local preceptors, they also attempted to move the central convent of the priory from Asti to Milan and then to create a new priory that corresponded with their dominions. In form of a very complex and delicate diplomatic plot these ambitions became intertwined with the Hospitallers' efforts to control their western resources effectively on the one hand and the papacy's determination to retain full control over ecclesiastical benefices on the other, a determination which directly opposed contemporary Conciliaristic trends.²

At the turn of the second half of the fifteenth century the duchy of Milan was ruled by Francesco Sforza, heir of Filippo Maria Visconti through his marriage to Visconti's daughter Bianca Maria. He ascended to power in 1450, and his successors ruled the duchy of Milan independently until 1499 when Ludovico il Moro was defeated by French forces. During the second half of the fifteenth century the Sforzas' dominions varied, depending on political and military developments. The core of the duchy consisted of a compact territory corresponding to the western part of present Lombardy.³ The duchy of Milan and the areas under Sforza influence did not correspond to the Hospitaller priory of Lombardy, which extended over the whole of north-west Italy and had its central see in the Piedmontese town of Asti.⁴ At times the Sforzas' state also included areas of the Hospitaller priories of Pisa and Venice.⁵

According to the concessions granted by Pope Nicholas V to Francesco Sforza in 1450, the duke did not have the right to grant ecclesiastical benefices. He was allowed to retain ambassadors in Rome, the *oratori*, who also served to identify particular candidates for ecclesiastical appointments.⁶ An inquiry into bishop nominations between 1451 and 1465 shows that the Roman representatives of the Sforzas were generally successful. Eleven out of fourteen vacant episcopal sees

during this period were given to Sforza nominees.⁷ Effectively, the duke tried to control all appointments of local prelates, whereas the pope and the cardinals exerted very strict control over benefices in order to favour exclusively their own candidates at a lower level.⁸ Francesco Sforza attempted to contravene this trend by issuing new legislation on the matter, by reorganizing the magistrates in charge of running vacant ecclesiastical benefices, and by putting pressure on local church bodies.⁹

This kind of heavy interference and harsh competition also included the assigning of Hospitaller houses. Disputes occurred when a benefice was vacant as the result of the death of a brother, a brother's resignation, or a brother's transfer to another post. All Sforza rulers were involved in such controversies, which concerned the major Hospitaller houses in the duchy as well as minor convents, especially the ones that were strategically situated on the borders of Sforza dominions. The Hospitallers repeatedly complained about the papacy's habit of appointing officers, and it was only in 1498 that Innocent IV put an end to these interventions by asserting that the pope could no longer award Hospitaller priories, bailiwicks, commanderies, or benefices.¹⁰ However, his successor Alexander VI revitalized the nepotistic and hegemonic policy toward the Hospital, of which he had also been the cardinal protector.¹¹ The appointment of a local Hospitaller master therefore could turn into a very complicated matter, marked by the concurrent and conflicting interventions of civil and religious authorities.

In 1481 the convent of San Giovanni in Noceto in the diocese of Parma on the southern border of the duchy had become vacant. Bona of Savoy and her son Duke Gian Galeazzo suggested that the convent should be entrusted to their counsellor Angelo Malavolta. He seemed to be a suitable candidate because of the service he had rendered the dukes and the duchy in the past, his noble origins, and his kinship with Roberto Sanseverino, the cousin of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza. Pope Sixtus IV hesitated to approve this proposal, and the duke suggested a new candidate: Giuliano da Varese, the ducal seneschal. At the same time the Hospitaller grand master, Pierre d'Aubusson, proposed Cosimo Giandemaria on virtue of his service in the struggle against the Turks. The quarrel ended only when Giuliano da Varese died in 1482.¹²

In 1493 Agnolo del Caccia, a layman from Florence, obtained a papal provision for the Hospitaller house of San Giovanni in Parma. Duke Ludovico il Moro wished to grant him the convent in compensation for having failed to appoint him master of the house of Milan. However, the following year Pierre d'Aubusson entrusted the administration of the vacant convent to Paolo Colla from Parma, who was already preceptor of San Giovanni Piccinino in Alessandria. Alexander VI eventually ratified Paolo Colla's nomination, but the pontiff was still being solicited by the Milanese authorities to support del Caccia in 1495, and evidence from 1497 shows that eventually he was successful in gaining the contended post.¹³

These cases highlight the contrasting motivations that could guide the nomination of candidates: whereas the dukes used local benefices to reward relatives and supporters, the grand master based his nominations on membership of the Order, merits acquired in its service, and geographical provenance of the candidates.

These kinds of controversies could also take on an even more complex aspect, as happened during the 1452–1453 vacancy in the convent of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia in Piacenza. Sant'Egidio, a convent of Templar origin, controlled a conspicuous patrimony, and several candidates competed to have it awarded to them. Aicardo Nibbia, preceptor of Novara, was chosen by Francesco Sforza, whereas another candidate, Marco Ciresia, offered 300 ducats for the post. Stefano Credozzo, who offered 500 ducats, was the only aspirant from Piacenza in the competition. The duke later changed his mind and switched his support from Nibbia to Giovanni Riva, a Milanese nobleman, also in order to reward his family for their support. Giovanni, who was ready to pay 300 ducats but was not a Hospitaller brother, went to Asti to be received into the Order. Meanwhile, Nibbia managed to organize a meeting with Francesco Sforza and Riva. The situation became even more complex after the intervention of Pope Nicholas V, who decided to grant Sant'Egidio to Michele Marliani, his chamberlain. Moreover, after the meeting with Nibbia and Riva, Francesco Sforza changed his mind once more and went back to supporting Nibbia. By then Nicholas V had Riva expelled from Rome *propter sua demerita* and had also sought his exclusion from the list of candidates. We do not know how the quarrel ended, but evidence exists that in 1458 a new dispute concerning the house of Piacenza had arisen between Giovanni Riva and Giovanni Marliani (the latter in all likelihood a relative of Michele and another member of the papal entourage). In such a confused situation it is not surprising that already in 1452 the *deputati ad negotia* of Piacenza had complained to the duke that local benefices were granted to strangers without taking any local candidates into consideration. They explicitly referred to the case of Sant'Egidio, where four of the five contenders were not from Piacenza.¹⁴

As has been shown, preceptors of Hospitaller houses appointed by the dukes could be individuals not belonging to the Order. Very often they were outsiders, and as such they were received with hostility by the convent. They frequently belonged to families which were trying to monopolize the administration of a certain house, gradually appropriating its patrimony and adding it to their family possessions. In other words, immorality, impoverishment and usurpations were all seriously damaging the local situation of several Hospitaller communities during this period.

The Sforzas tried to solve the economic setbacks caused by these damages with the aid of *economi*, local ducal officers put in charge of administering the benefices until a new recipient was found. In 1463 Villanterio, an important Hospitaller house between Pavia and Lodi, where the Order had extensive rights and possessions, had fallen vacant. Francesco Sforza ordered the *podestà* of Villanterio to identify any property belonging to the house that had been moved or stolen since the beginning of the vacancy and to compile a list of the Hospitaller assets. The *podestà* of Pavia was also ordered to oversee the issuing of a notarial inventory of all of the convent's moveable and immoveable possessions. Moreover, the duke sent the *economo* Guiniforte da Vigolo to administer the patrimony of the house.¹⁵

The *libri annatarum* for the dioceses of the Sforza state, kept in the Vatican Secret Archives, contain records of all taxes on non-consistorial benefices paid to

the *Camera apostolica* before the collection of the bulls of provision. They are, therefore, a mine of information about ecclesiastical appointments and the disputes surrounding them. According to these registers Sforza candidates usually prevailed in the battles over benefices. Not only did the Hospitallers accept ducal proposals for the appointments of officials, they also received the nominees into the Order.¹⁶ Probably only a few candidates agreed with the former lieutenant of the admiral on Rhodes, Rolando Rossi from Parma, who argued that the grand master was free to give convents to candidates of his choosing without interference from either the pope or secular lords.¹⁷ Aspirants were usually motivated only by the material benefits of an assignment. Simply participating in the contest could be rewarding because contenders who later willingly relinquished their candidacy were often compensated with pensions drawn from the income of the house in question. Sometimes the Hospitallers and the duke came to an easy agreement about a candidate, as was the case with Giovanni Michele Pagnani, a member of a family of loyal officers to the Sforzas. He had been recommended as new preceptor of Tortona by Galeazzo Maria. In 1468, Grand Master Battista Orsini wrote that he had personally experienced, both on land and at sea, Pagnani's industriousness and remarkable moral virtues and therefore granted him the convent of Tortona and neighbouring houses, as requested (Pagani received these grants in 1469).¹⁸ The evidence also shows that each of the persons involved in the granting of Tortona to Pagnani – the duke, the pope, and the grand master – considered the right to appoint Pagnani as preceptor as his alone.

In 1478 Gian Galeazzo Sforza imposed a relative of his, Giovanni Pietro Visconti, as preceptor of the houses of Villanterio and Inverno, which were located strategically close to the Venetian border of his state. In a letter against the creditors and usurpers of the Hospitaller possessions written in 1478 the duke was in no doubt that the grand master, who had nominated another candidate as preceptor of the two houses, would appreciate his decision and resolute attempts to recover the houses' credits and seized property.¹⁹

Indeed, ducal persistence could prove particularly tenacious in cases where convents were located in strategically important areas like the Alessandrino on the duchy's western border. In 1458 Achille Stampa was the duke's chosen candidate for the Hospitaller preceptory of Torre d'Orba in Casal Cermelli near Alessandria. He was not a member of the Order, and it is not clear whether he was in the end appointed. In 1470 Stampa was captain of the rock of Alessandria, and Galeazzo Maria Sforza actively supported his candidature to the local Hospitaller house of Santa Maria di Borgoglio, which was located in a strategically sensitive area. The house had fallen vacant after the prior of Lombardy, Giorgio di Valperga, had deposed its preceptor, Giovanni Inviziati, as well as the preceptor of Castellazzo Bormida, the aforementioned Giovanni Riva. Already in 1460 Giorgio di Valperga had granted Santa Maria di Borgoglio and the house of Casal Cermelli to the Hospitaller knight Manfredo Guasco. Pope Pius II had ratified the appointment. Although the details remain unknown, in 1460 Guasco won a dispute over the assignment of the neighbouring house of Castellazzo Bormida, and it is likely that he also had difficulties in obtaining the other two preceptories. When Santa Maria

fell vacant ten years later the prior granted it again to Manfredo Guasco. The disagreement between the duke and the prior was solved by Pope Paul II, who approved the appointment of the duke's candidate, Achille Stampa. In the end, Guasco remained in charge of the house of Castellazzo Bormida, and Stampa administered the convents of Alessandria and Casal Cermelli.²⁰

Giorgio di Valperga was a skilled officer who had spent time on Rhodes and at the papal curia before being appointed Prior of Lombardy, an office which he held from 1446 until 1467. He was acutely aware of the problems that his order was facing in Lombardy. Giorgio worked vigorously towards re-establishing moral discipline in the Hospital and protecting and recovering its property from dispersal and seizure at the hands of preceptors and outsiders. As has been seen, he was also involved in the controversial business of handing out local benefices.²¹ In the case of the depositions of Giovanni Inviziati and Giovanni Riva Giorgio had acted against two members of the Order who enjoyed Sforza support but were unfit for office. Despite Giorgio's efforts the dispute about the convents of Alessandria, Torre d'Orba and Castellazzo Bormida did not end in his favour. Moreover, the fact that in 1471 Giovanni Riva (who had been removed by Giorgio) was the preceptor of the houses of Cremona and Lodi shows how limited the prior's influence in matters of benefices was especially at the core of the duchy of Milan.²²

A significant intermediary between the ducal authorities and the Hospital was the receiver general of the priory of Lombardy, Cristoforo Visconti, a close relative of the Sforzas and preceptor of the house of Inverno between 1466 and 1478.²³ In 1473 he is mentioned as *receptor generalis* in the priory of Lombardy for the first time.²⁴ He later went to Rhodes, and in 1476 the Grand Master Battista Orsini informed Gian Galeazzo Sforza that Cristoforo was returning to Lombardy. In his capacity as *procurator* of the Order Visconti was to gather the dues formerly collected by his predecessor Tommaso Noli, as well as a number of swords which the Order of St John had bought some time earlier.²⁵ Two notes in the State Archive of Milan, written by the same hand and not dated, contain relevant information on Cristoforo Visconti's mission. The first note is entitled 'Reminder of what Cristoforo Visconti, commendator of Inverno, has to ask the duke of Milan on behalf of the grand master and the whole Order' (*Recordo de quanto ha a domandare fra Cristoforo Vesconte, commendatore de Inverno, all'Illustrissimo Signor Duca de Milano per parte del Monsignore lo Maistro de Rodi et de tuta la religione*). It begins with requests concerning Rhodes, such as a tax exemption for 3,000 *modia* of millet to be sent to the island and for 1,000 swords bought for the defence of Rhodes eight years previously; these were followed by requests relating to local matters, concerning, for example, the granting of two small convents near Alessandria and Pavia to the care of Tommaso di Provana (who was in Rhodes at that time), the filling of vacancies and collection of *spolia* in the priory of Lombardy (including the *spolia* of Villanterio) and further exemptions from local levies. The second note contains a list of vacancies and appointments in some of which Cristoforo had acted as intermediary.²⁶

The career of Cristoforo Visconti provides interesting insights into a number of issues. The Visconti family, predecessors of the Sforza as rulers of the duchy of

Milan, had forged close ties with the Hospital since the thirteenth century, but Cristoforo is the first member of the family who is known to have joined the Order.²⁷ Moreover, the choice of Cristoforo as *receptor* and *thexaurarius* of the priory of Lombardy may have been a strategic one. As a close relative of the dukes he would have been able to mediate effectively between the ducal family and the Order. Surely it is not a coincidence that Battista Orsini entrusted him not only with the collection of the priory's outstanding dues but also with another crucial matter, namely the tax exemption for food and military supplies to be sent to Rhodes. The priory of Lombardy's contribution to the activities of the central convent on Rhodes still requires detailed examination. According to the 1467 statutes knights from the priory of Lombardy constituted the majority among the Italians on Rhodes, and evidence from the same period shows that dues paid by the priory of Lombardy were among the highest in Italy.²⁸ As has been seen, north-west Italy also provided food supplies and high-quality swords from the duchy of Milan. That economic contacts existed between Rhodes and the duchy of Milan is confirmed by the discovery of Rhodian coins in Vigevano, a village close to Milan. In 1491 Gian Galeazzo Sforza gave permission to the inhabitants of Vigevano to send the goods and money they had collected to Rhodes. However, it is worth noting that the Sforzas' attitude towards crusading was determined by their enmity with Venice and their support of the ambiguous strategies of Genoa (a town that was either directly included in the duchy or was in its sphere of influence). Thus, the crusading policy of the Sforzas was often ambivalent. In 1473–1474, for example, Galeazzo Maria Sforza had supported Genoa against the Hospital in a quarrel over the shipwreck of a Hospitaller galley and the illegal purchase of its load by some Genoese citizens.²⁹

According to local evidence Cristoforo Visconti also acted as a mediator in the assigning of local benefices before being appointed *receptor*. He also administered the important house of Inverno and later on that of Villanterio.³⁰ Here Cristoforo left tangible traces of his mastership thanks to the rebuilding of the castle of Inverno, the only heavily fortified house of the Hospital in present Lombardy, and of the nearby church of San Giovanni Battista. Both edifices feature the coat of arms of the Visconti. On a stoup in the Church of San Giovanni it is flanked by a monogram that stands for *Christoforus*. The castle of Inverno is an impressive building. Not only did it consolidate the Hospitallers' presence in the area but could also play a significant role in securing Sforza control over the duchy's border.³¹ Thus, both the Order and the Sforzas benefited from Cristoforo's double capacity as master of Inverno and Villanterio and *receptor generalis* in Lombardy.

The level of Sforza interference in Hospitaller business reached its climax when the ducal family tried to take control of the priory of Lombardy itself. In 1467, during the vacancy following the death of the aforementioned Giorgio di Valperga, the dukes tried to obtain a papal licence for the removal of the Order's central convent from Asti to Milan. In spite of the pressure exercised by the *oratori* and the intervention of the archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Stefano Nardini, this attempt to relocate the central convent ultimately yielded no results.³² The relocation ran

contrary to the Order's traditions, not least because the main Hospitaller house in Milan, Santa Maria del Tempio, actually had Templar and not Hospitaller origins. A second Sforza attempt at relocation in 1481 was successful, as shown by surviving evidence. On this occasion Bona of Savoy, reigning on behalf of her minor son Gian Galeazzo, insisted to Pope Sixtus IV that Milan, like Venice, Pisa and several other major Italian cities, deserved to have its own priory. The move to Milan also had the added benefit of severing a significant link between the Sforzas' dominions and Asti, a city controlled by Louis of Orléans, who was a grandson of Valentina Visconti and wished to become the new duke of Milan. Pope Sixtus IV agreed to the duchess' request. A letter to the pope written by Bona in April 1481 gives the impression that a few months earlier Milan had indeed become the home of a newly established Hospitaller priory, whereas Asti still controlled the priory of Lombardy, now reduced to include only the Order's convents in Piedmont and Liguria.³³ This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that during this period the prior of the new Hospitaller district of Milan was Geronimo Becchetti, brother of Bona's secretary Aloisio, and that in 1482 and 1484 a prior of Lombardy is documented as well. He was Francesco della Rovere, who was already the prior of Pisa and, more important, a nephew of Pope Sixtus IV. It is clear that in this case the priory of Lombardy was at the mercy of forces external to the Order. The central figure in this development was Sixtus IV, who had his nephew appointed as Hospitaller prior twice and who made the decision to change the Order's local administrative structure. In 1482 Francesco della Rovere promised that he would pay the dues requested for the vacant priory of Lombardy. In 1484 he was involved in a dispute with Merlo di Piosasco, former Admiral of the Hospital, who, according to Renato Bordone, may have been appointed to the priorship of Lombardy by the grand master himself. Sixtus IV chose another nephew of his, Cardinal Domenico della Rovere, to act as judge in the dispute, which ended with Merlo being awarded two houses, Moncalieri and Murello, which were parceled out of the priory of Lombardy.³⁴ Apparently in this scenario the Hospital was not able to contravene effectively against papal interference, and also the priory's loss of two of its houses highlights the Hospitallers' weak position in this case.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to ascertain whether the newly established priory of Milan corresponded to the Sforza state or whether the prior's authority was recognized throughout the province. For instance, candidates appointed to preceptorships in Alessandria and Tortona during this period came from Piedmont or had returned from Rhodes.³⁵ In all likelihood they would have been disposed to stay loyal to the central convent in Asti.

The newly established priory of Milan did not escape conflicts and competition. In 1491 Ludovico il Moro found himself unable to impose his candidates for the convent of Milan and was forced to accept Fabrizio del Carretto, future grand master of the Order, supported by Pope Innocent VIII.³⁶ Moreover, dynastic conflicts and the decline of Sforza power fatally reverberated on the priory they had created. When Ludovico il Moro successfully removed Bona of Savoy from power in 1481, Prior Geronimo Becchetti, who was closely connected to the duchess, renounced his position in favour of Antonio Feruffini. Ludovico, however, had

already decided to remove Bechetti and nominate Andrea Birago as new prior in his stead. In spite of his nomination Birago renounced the post because he concluded that 'the new priory was cause of great alteration and damage to the Order.'³⁷ Pope Alexander VI ratified Feruffini's appointment, but the grand master subsequently ordered the receptor of Lombardy, Bonifacio Scarampo, to depose him for neglecting to pay the requested dues for the houses of Cerro and Carobiolo which had been under his care.³⁸ Ultimately, the measure had no effect. The priory of Milan became submerged with the failures of its founders and was disbanded in 1498, shortly before the final defeat of Ludovico il Moro. The duke himself, aware of his political weakness, consented to its suppression because – he claimed – he did not want to do anything within his state that went against the old statutes of the Hospital.³⁹

In sum, an examination of the relations between the Sforzas, the papacy, and the Hospital of St John during the second half of the fifteenth century illustrates that the Hospitaller priory of Lombardy was not immune to the destructive trends which so deeply affected the Church at the time. Nepotism, secular use of benefices, usurpations, and immorality were the results of external interferences in local Hospitaller business and government. The Order of St John was often too weak to resist these abuses. However, despite ducal and papal intrusions, Asti remained the seat of the priory of Lombardy, and several families from north-western Italy retained their long-standing ties with Rhodes. Therefore, it was adherence to the tradition of the Order that in north-west Italy preserved its original crusader character and international outlook, partially detaching it from local political developments and securing its survival.

Notes

- 1 The following abbreviations are used in this chapter: ASMI: Archivio di Stato di Milano; RD: Registri Ducali; SPE: Sforzesco, Potenze Estere; ASV: Archivio Segreto Vaticano; ASVen: Archivio di Stato di Venezia; Ansani1: M. Ansani, 'La provvista dei benefici (1450–1466). Strumenti e limiti dell'intervento ducale', in *Gli Sforza, la chiesa lombarda, la corte di Roma. Struttura e pratica beneficiaria nel ducato di Milano. 1450–1535*, ed. G. Chittolini (Naples, 1989), pp. 1–113; Ansani2: *Camera apostolica. Documenti relativi alle diocesi del Ducato di Milano, I, I 'libri annatarum' di Pio II e Paolo II (1458–1471)*, ed. M. Ansani (Milan, 1994); Battioni1: *Camera apostolica. Documenti relativi alle diocesi del ducato di Milano, II: I "libri annatarum" di Sisto IV (1471–1484)*, ed. G. Battioni (Milan, 1989); Battioni2: G. Battioni, 'Aspetti e problemi della presenza giovanista nelle diocesi del ducato sforzesco', in *Cavalieri di San Giovanni e territorio*, ed. J. Costa Restagno (Genoa, 1999), pp. 126–69.
- 2 Battioni2. On the issue of ecclesiastical appointments see Ansani1.
- 3 See generally *Gli Sforza a Milano e in Lombardia e i loro rapporti con gli Stati italiani ed europei. 1450–1535*. Convegno internazionale, Milano, 18–21 maggio 1981, ed. G. Peyronnet, G. Chittolini and G. Airaldi (Milan, 1982); *Milano e gli Sforza: Gian Galeazzo Maria e Ludovico il Moro. 1476–1499*, Mostra documentaria e iconografica, 28 febbraio – 20 marzo 1983, ed. G. Bologna (Milan, 1983); *Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro: atti del convegno internazionale* [no editor], 28 febbraio – 4 marzo 1983, 2 vols (Milan, 1983); *L'età dei Visconti e degli Sforza. 1277–1535*, ed. A. Gamberini and F. Somaini (Milan, 2001).

- 4 R. Bordone, 'Il Piemonte e l'Ordine di Malta: il Granpriorato di Lombardia', in "*Gentiluomini Christiani e Religiosi Cavalieri*". *Nove secoli dell'Ordine di Malta in Piemonte*, ed. T. Ricardi di Netro and L. C. Gentile (Milan, 2000), pp. 13–14; R. Bordone, 'San Pietro di Consavia e il priorato di Lombardia nel Medioevo', in *L'antico San Pietro in Asti. Storia, Architettura, Archeologia*, ed. R. Bordone, A. Crosetto and C. Tosco (Asti, 2000), pp. 43–79.
- 5 Battioni2, pp. 409–10.
- 6 Ansani1, pp. 1–7.
- 7 Ibid., p. 12.
- 8 Ibid., pp. 12, 17.
- 9 Ibid., p. 27 *et seq.*
- 10 I. Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, 3 vols (Venice, 1695), II, pp. 320–1, 472, 505; *Codice Diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, ed. S. Pauli, 2 vols (Pisa, 1733–1737), II, pp. 160–4.
- 11 Bosio, *Istoria*, II, p. 472; Battioni2, pp. 401–2.
- 12 Battioni1, p. 132; ASMI, RD 88, fols. 42–3; ASMI, SPE 647, 24 June 1481; Battioni2, pp. 429, 445.
- 13 ASV, Registri Vaticani 790, fols. 87v–93v; ASV, *Libri annatarum* 46, fol. 6v; *Camera apostolica. Documenti relativi al Ducato di Milano*, IV, 'I libri annatarum' di Alessandro VI (1492–1503), ed. M. De Luca (Milan, 2006), nos. 130, 146; Battioni2, pp. 417, 427–8, 439, 441.
- 14 Ansani1, pp. 38–9, 70; Battioni2, pp. 404, 432–3, 446–7, 452.
- 15 ASMI, RD 165, fols. 6v–7r, 10r, 11r; Ansani1, p. 51.
- 16 Appointments made during the period in question are listed in Battioni2, pp. 422–58.
- 17 ASMI, Famiglie, Rossi 159, 5 August 1479; Battioni2, p. 453.
- 18 ASMI, SPE 647, 9 November 1473; Battioni2, pp. 432–3, 448.
- 19 ASMI, RD 103, fols. 164v–5r.
- 20 ASMI, RD 156, fols. 231, 235–7, 260; Ansani1, p. 107; Ansani2, nos. 13, 60; ASMI, SPE 67, 13 May 1471; Battioni1, nos 8, 609; ASV, *Libri annatarum* 33, fol. 106r; ASV, *Libri annatarum* 34, fol. 160r; Battioni2, pp. 415–16, 425, 452, 455–6.
- 21 Bordone, 'San Pietro', pp. 65–7; T. Mannoni and M. Pistarino, 'Un esempio di studio archeologico di un insediamento gerosolimitano: l'ospedale e il priorato di San Pietro in Consavia ad Asti', in *Cavalieri di San Giovanni e territorio*, ed. J. Costa Restagno (Genoa, 1999), pp. 392–4; E. Bellomo, 'Fortified Rural Houses of the Hospital in the Medieval Priory of Lombardy: Preliminary Remarks', in *Castelos das Ordens Militares*, ed. I. C. Ferreira Fernandes, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 2013), II, pp. 226–7.
- 22 *Camera apostolica. Pio II e Paolo II*, no. 339; Battioni2, pp. 425, 432.
- 23 E. Segù, *Viaggio nel tempo* (Belgioioso, 1984), pp. 34–5; ASMI, Fondo Religione, Registri, Cartella 461, 21 April 1468; ASMI, RD 103, fols. 164v–5r. His successor was Giovanni Pietro Visconti, see *ibid.*
- 24 ASMI, SPE 647, 24 May 1473.
- 25 ASMI, SPE 646, 23 January 1476.
- 26 ASMI, SPE 646. On the receiver general see A. Luttrell, 'The Italian Hospitallers at Rhodes: 1437–1462', *Revue Mabillon*, 68 (n.s. 7) (1996), 214.
- 27 A. Colombo, 'I Gerosolimitani e i Templari a Milano e la via della Commenda', *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 53 (n.s. 3) (1926), 185–240; G. Albini, 'La domus Sanctae Crucis dei Gerosolimitani e la società milanese tra XII e XIII secolo', in *Riviera di Levante tra Emilia e Toscana. Un crocevia per l'ordine di San Giovanni*, ed. J. Costa Restagno (Genoa, 2001), pp. 305–14, reprinted in eadem, *Carità e governo delle povertà. Secoli XII–XV* (Milan, 2002), pp. 83–116.
- 28 Luttrell, 'The Italian Hospitallers', pp. 214–15; J. Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 2002), pp. 555, 564.

- 29 *Il tesoretto di Vigevano: monete auree tra Gotico e Rinascimento*, ed. E. A. Arslan (Milan, 1975), nos. 541, 542; *Gli Sforza a Vigevano*, ed. M. Ferrante (s.l., 1981), doc. 38; G. Pistarino, 'La politica sforzesca nel Mediterraneo orientale', in *Gli Sforza a Milano*, pp. 355–6.
- 30 ASMI, Comuni, cartella 90, Villanterio; ASMI, RD 103, fols. 164v–5r.
- 31 Bellomo, 'Fortified Rural Houses', pp. 227–8.
- 32 ASMI, SPE 61, 26 January 1467; Battioni2, pp. 413–14.
- 33 ASMI, SPE 646; ASVen, Podocataro 4, 4 April 1481; Battioni2, p. 414; Bordone, 'San Pietro', p. 68.
- 34 Battioni2, p. 414; Bordone, 'San Pietro', p. 68; A. Lercari, 'Ceto dirigente e Ordine di San Giovanni a Genova. Ruolo generale dei Cavalieri di Malta liguri', in *Cavalieri di San Giovanni in Liguria e nell'Italia settentrionale. Quadri regionali, uomini e documenti*, ed. J. Costa Restagno (Genoa-Albenga, 2009), p. 159.
- 35 Bordone, 'San Pietro', p. 68.
- 36 Battioni2, pp. 417–18; R. Musso, "'El più benemerito cavaliere che sia in Lombardia". Fabrizio del Carretto, gran maestro dell'Ordine di San Giovanni Battista, alla luce di documenti inediti', in *Cavalieri di San Giovanni in Liguria e nell'Italia settentrionale: quadri regionali, uomini e documenti: atti del convegno*, Genova, Commenda di San Giovanni di Prè, 30 settembre – 2 ottobre 2004, ed. J. Costa Restagno (Genoa, 2010), pp. 657–63.
- 37 Bosio, *Istoria*, II, p. 526.
- 38 Colombo, 'I Gerosolimitani e i Templari', p. 210; Battioni2, pp. 429, 429, 444, 454; Bordone, 'San Pietro', pp. 68–9.
- 39 Battioni2, p. 415; Bordone, 'San Pietro', p. 69.

16 Advocacy and ‘defensio’ – the protection of the houses of the Teutonic Order in the region of the Upper Rhine during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

Conradin von Planta

In historic research the question of advocacy has rarely been asked with regard to the military orders and their convents. In my doctoral thesis, I have tried to examine several cases regarding the problems of advocacy and protection in particular of the Teutonic Order.¹ ‘Advocate’ describes a lay or ecclesiastic lord (usually a bishop) who is charged with the protection of a religious community and with administering justice in particular cases. The classic advocate of the High Middle Ages was entitled to a material reward from the community under his protection. These material rewards, for example the right to be lodged and entertained, together with the advocate’s juridical power, imply a share in the lordship over the lands and revenues of the community concerned. The office of advocate is one of the main issues for the relationship between any religious community (or, on a larger scale, any ecclesiastic order) on one hand and the lay nobility and great ecclesiastic lords on the other.

After the emergence of the Order of Cluny, however, the question of advocacy became a matter for debate. The Cluniacs wanted to be exempted from all advocacy and placed their priories under direct papal and royal protection.² The protection envisioned by the Cluniacs was not supposed to extract any material reward from the communities concerned. The purpose of this was rather to avoid the continued share of the advocate in lordship over the lands and revenues given to the order. Even if jurisdiction had to be exercised by the royal *defensor* or his officials in certain cases, it no longer included lordship over the order’s property. This concept is best known as *defensio*. Great military orders like the Teutonic Order or the Order of St John adopted this principle,³ but they were far from the only religious orders to do so. The example of the Cluniacs was also imitated by other monastic orders. In Germany, the Cistercians are the most conspicuous example. Contrary to the military orders, the question of the protection of the Cistercian monasteries has received some attention in research.⁴

I shall consider the regional case of the commanderies of the Teutonic Order in the region of the Upper Rhine, that is, Alsace, the German speaking parts of Switzerland, and the German region of Baden. In addition, one or two commanderies

of the Order of St John within the same region will be included. The main focus, however, will be on the houses of the Teutonic Order.

Since their earliest beginnings in Germany the Order of St John and the Teutonic Order were placed under the *defensio* of the German king or emperor, the former in 1158 by Frederick I Barbarossa, the latter in 1206 by Philipp von Schwaben.⁵ These privileges represent the general juridical framework for both orders. But how were these general law rules applied in individual cases by tribunals and the authorities of either order? The practical employment of the privileges of a religious order is a question which far exceeds the specific problem of advocacy and *defensio* of the communities of the military orders.

As with the Cluniacs, the founder of a community of the Teutonic Order could formally renounce not only his claim to the ownership of the goods offered to the order but also the advocacy. In 1225 Lütold von Sumiswald, a local lord from what is now the canton of Berne in Switzerland, presented himself at the court of King Henry VII of Germany in Ulm to perform this act before his sovereign. The king received the property of the commandery into his protection (*defensio*).⁶ Lütold even travelled to the court of Henry's father, the emperor Frederick II, in distant Italy, and repeated the same act there.⁷ In 1228 Count Diethelm von Toggenburg acted in the same way when donating lands to the Order of St John for a new commandery in a place called Tobel in what is now the Swiss canton of Thurgau.⁸ Diethelm did not go to the royal or imperial court, but he also formally renounced all claims to the advocacy. So the significance of the act was the same. After Diethelm's death the Toggenburg family continued to entertain good relationships with the commandery of Tobel and the Order of St John.⁹ There is no evidence of the family ever trying to impose any form of advocacy upon Tobel.¹⁰ The fate of the commandery of Sumiswald is less well known.

These examples show that the privileges of the Teutonic Order and also of the Order of St John could affect the behaviour of aristocratic benefactors of either order. Lütold von Sumiswald and Diethelm von Toggenburg acted in accordance with the general rules of both military orders. The foundations of the commanderies of Sumiswald and Tobel, however, do not in themselves reveal the whole truth about the application of the general rules of *defensio*. Before this problem can be examined, however, the practical effectiveness of the royal or imperial protection of the Teutonic Order needs to be considered.

The issuing of general privileges regarding, among other things, the exemption from advocacy and the instalment of protection by a sovereign sometimes took the form of privileges being granted to particular places which had been donated to the Order. The first documented record of a donation to the Teutonic Order in Alsace dates to 1214. Specifically, it was about a place called Ingemarsheim. Immediately after the donation, Emperor Frederick II issued a charter in which he received Ingemarsheim into his *defensio*.¹¹ In 1236 some property rights of the newly founded commandery of Mulhouse (a town in southern Alsace) were contested by the community of the same city.¹² The commandery threatened to take legal action against the citizens of Mulhouse at the imperial court. The situation

looked promising for the commandery, because Frederick II was staying in Alsace at the time. The threat proved effective. The citizens abandoned their claims to the debated property. Berne, the actual capital of Switzerland, was the site of the early foundation of a commandery of the Teutonic Order around 1226.¹³ However, there were complaints from another religious community, which threatened the existence of the new house. In this situation king Henry (VII) stepped in and charged two royal officials with the protection of the commandery.¹⁴ A few years later, Henry also supported the claims of the commandery of Berne.¹⁵ Around 1245 the existence of this house was finally secured, certainly also because of the *defensio* of the two Stauffer.¹⁶

Another significant point should be noted here: in 1226 Henry (VII) charged the administrator of the royal domain in the former kingdom of Burgundy with the protection of the commandery of Berne.¹⁷ Entrusting the administration of the royal domain of a large area and the *defensio* of a commandery of the Teutonic Order situated within this same area to the same royal or imperial official points ahead to an important administrative measure taken later by Rudolf von Habsburg.¹⁸ Rudolf was king of Germany from 1273 to 1291. In 1279 the royal *Reichslandvogt* (the bailiff charged with the administration of the royal domain within his jurisdiction) of the Speyergau appears as *defensor* of the commandery of Wissembourg.¹⁹ Wissembourg is a small town in Northern Alsace, but in the Middle Ages it was considered rather to be part of the Palatinate (*Pfalz*). The Speyergau is the southern part of the Palatinate bordering on Northern Alsace. That is why the mention of the bailiff of the *Speyergau* as *defensor* of the Wissembourg commandery is hardly astonishing. But the *Reichslandvogt* of Alsace also had his part to play. In 1298 this bailiff figured as *defensor* of the commandery of Rufach-Sundheim, because this commandery was called *hospicium advocati imperii*, i.e. lodging of the imperial bailiff of Alsace.²⁰ This is a reference to the bailiff's right to be lodged and entertained by the Rufach commandery. The house of Rufach-Sundheim is situated in Southern Alsace.

The aforementioned sources show that the bailiffs in charge of the royal domain in two neighbouring areas were also charged with the *defensio* of at least two commanderies of the Teutonic Order situated within their respective jurisdictions. The Alsatian bailiff may also have been entrusted with the protection of a second commandery in Alsace, though the only available written source dating from 1304 is not very reliable.²¹ The commandery concerned is the house of Dahn situated in Northern Alsace. The source is a letter from the archdeacon of the cathedral chapter of Strasbourg to the bishop of this same diocese, the Ettendorf family (founders of the commandery) and Johann von Lichtenberg, the royal bailiff of Alsace.²² The archdeacon had been approached by the commander of Dahn, because subjects of the house were refusing to pay certain charges. Obviously, the bailiff had something to say in the affair, because the archdeacon asked him and the two other addressees not to direct their anger against the commander for having approached him. Possibly, the commander of Dahn had tried to initiate a process before the officiality of Strasbourg, the ecclesiastic court of this bishopric, by approaching the archdeacon. It seems likely that the Ettendorf family and the Alsatian bailiff

expected the commander of Dahn to make an appeal to them. The most obvious motif for this attitude would seem to be the position of advocate or *defensor* of the Dahn commandery. The commander's attempt to initiate a process before another court would then have led to the archdeacon's initiative to soothe the bailiff and the Ettendorf family.

The link between the administration of the royal domain within one particular jurisdiction and the *defensio* of the commanderies of the Teutonic Order within this same area appears obvious towards the end of the thirteenth century. The measures taken by Henry (VII) in favour of the Berne commandery somehow anticipate this later development which is significant for the reign of Rudolf von Habsburg and his successors Adolf von Nassau (1292–1298) and Albrecht von Habsburg (Rudolf's son, 1298–1308). We do not know to what extent the bailiffs of the royal domain in Alsace and in the Speyergau were entrusted with the *defensio* of the houses of the Teutonic Order within their respective jurisdictions. To assume that all Teutonic commanderies within the jurisdiction of a bailiff in charge of the royal domain were also under the protection of this same official would be too anachronistic a conclusion. But the problem of the German king's or emperor's entrusting the same officials with the administration of the royal domain and the *defensio* of the houses of the Teutonic Order deserves further consideration beyond the boundaries of Alsace and Speyergau. Of course, this same question should also be examined for the houses of other ecclesiastic orders that are supposed to be exempted from the *advocacia*, including the Order of St John and the Cistercians.

The practical application of the preconceived rules of medieval juridical frameworks such as the general privileges of an ecclesiastic order often varied. They were often adapted to suit individual cases, and this was not necessarily considered illegal by contemporaries. Evidence of this can also be found for the Teutonic Order: in 1252 Eberhard von Ettendorf, the founder of the Teutonic commandery of Dahn, offered lands to this commandery.²³ But he reserved to himself the right of advocacy over the property concerned. The advocacy included the right to be lodged and entertained by the commandery of Dahn and was claimed by Eberhard for himself and his escort. As has been mentioned, the advocate's right to be lodged and entertained by the community under his protection is one of the classic components of the advocacy of the High Middle Ages. It is not only part of the advocate's material reward, but also represents his right to share the lordship over the property concerned with the ecclesiastic owner. This claim was by the general papal and royal privileges given to those orders which were supposed to be exempted from advocacy and lay lordship over their property. In the case of Dahn, however, the local authority of the Teutonic Order, the commander of Dahn, recognized Eberhard's advocacy. Subsequent commanders of Dahn also seem to have done so: the Ettendorf family still held some rights of advocacy over lands of the commandery of Dahn in 1304, as is made evident by the archdeacon of Strasbourg's letter to the Ettendorf family and the royal bailiff of Alsace, Johann von Lichtenberg, mentioned earlier.²⁴ One other thing is noteworthy: the lands of the Dahn commandery

were situated within the bishopric of Strasbourg. The letter of 1304 shows that the archdeacon of this diocese, acting probably as representative of the officiality of his bishopric, also considered the Ettendorf family to be the rightful possessors of this advocacy. It is possible that the letter of 1304 proves not only that the descendants of the founder of the house of Dahn continued to hold rights of advocacy over part of the commandery's lands, but also that the royal bailiff of Alsace held the *defensio* over Dahn. But one problem remains: the bailiff of Alsace, Johann von Lichtenberg, belonged to the family of the barons of Lichtenberg, a regionally powerful lineage in Northern Alsace.²⁵ The property of the Dahn commandery could have been of interest to the Lichtenberg family.²⁶ That is why the mention of Johann von Lichtenberg in the letter of 1304 could attest either to his function as royal official or to his role as advocate of Dahn. *Advocacia* and *defensio* are not always clearly distinguishable, because either can be imagined for communities of religious orders supposed to be exempted from advocacy. A partial advocacy exercised by a 'private person' is not irreconcilable with either the overall *defensio* exercised by a royal official or the *Kastvogtei*, i.e. the advocacy over all property of a religious community.

In Southern Alsace, the officiality of the bishopric of Basel, the neighbour of the Strasbourg diocese, attributed in 1278 some lands contested between the commandery of St John at Mulhouse and a local lord called Heinrich Walther von Steinbrunn to the former,²⁷ but granted the advocacy over part of the debated lands to the latter. The judgement was recognized by both antagonists. The claim to be lodged and entertained by the community under his protection was included among the advocate's rights. The commandery of Mulhouse also had to accept the hereditary nature of this advocacy within the Steinbrunn family. The inheritability of an advocacy is a classic feature of this phenomenon in the High Middle Ages. Heinrich Walther von Steinbrunn was not a descendant of the founder of the house of Mulhouse.²⁸ The judgement of 1278 therefore shows that simple benefactors of an ecclesiastic institution could claim the rights of advocacy over their former lands; but we do not know to what extent this claim was advanced in individual cases.

Kuno von Teuffen, the founder of the Swiss commandery of Hitzkirch (canton of Lucerne) in the 1230s, is inscribed as *fundator et advocatus* in the necrology of this house.²⁹ So a Teutonic necrology is using the classic term of *fundator et advocatus* to designate a person who is both founder and advocate of a religious community. It is precisely the concept of the advocacy of the High Middle Ages which links the claim to advocacy (*ius advocacie*) to the foundation of a religious community.

Kuno von Teuffen is an interesting figure. There is ample evidence that he was close to Frederick II and the Teutonic Order.³⁰ Kuno also became a brother knight of the Teutonic Order several years after he had founded Hitzkirch. Between 1244 and 1247 he was resident in two commanderies in the Upper Rhine region.³¹ There is not the slightest hint of any dissension between the authorities of the Teutonic Order and Kuno von Teuffen. All available evidence, including Kuno's

inscription in the Hitzkirch necrology, points to the Order's acceptance of Kuno's claim to be the protector of the commandery he had founded and endowed. But in medieval sources the notions of *advocatus* and *defensor* are not always strictly separated.³² Kuno may have acted either as *defensor* or as *advocatus* of Hitzkirch before becoming a member of the Teutonic Order. As *defensor* of Hitzkirch he would not have been allowed to claim material rewards and the advocate's right of having a part in lordship over the lands he had previously given to the order concerned. Entrusting the *defensio* of a community exempted from advocacy to its founder and not to some royal official is a method which is known to have been used by kings, emperors and monastic orders.³³ This method may also have been employed by the military orders, even if there is to date no concrete evidence to show it (but this may also be due to the lack of relevant research). Kuno could also have been *advocatus* of Hitzkirch, i.e. an advocate entitled to material reward and continued lordship over the lands he had given to the Teutonic Order. His position as *advocatus* forbids conclusions about the royal bailiffs being entrusted with the *defensio* of all Teutonic houses within their respective jurisdictions.

If we consider solely the general juridical framework of the Teutonic Order, Kuno's possible role as *defensor*, but not as *advocatus*, of Hitzkirch would seem indispensable to any arrangement between the community of an order exempted from advocacy and the founder of this same community. But the application of medieval law was flexible and included adaptation to individual cases in a way which does not seem consistent with our modern understanding. In either function, Kuno may have been perfectly recognized by the local and regional authorities of the Teutonic Order. Even ecclesiastic law courts do not necessarily recognize the privileges of religious communities and the institutions to which they belong. The outcome of the process between the commandery of St John in Mulhouse and Heinrich Walther von Steinbrunn before the officiality of the bishopric of Basel underlines this conclusion. In such a case the legality of the so-called non-observation of the respective order's privileges is particularly obvious. The same could be said for the behaviour of the local and regional authorities of the respective orders. In this regard the agreements reached between the Teutonic Order and the Ettendorf family about lands pertaining to the commandery of Dahn are particularly striking: they were considered as legally binding by both parties, in spite of the general privileges of the Teutonic Order.

This same absence of precise implementation of the general rules of the Teutonic Order is sometimes also characteristic of the behaviour of royal or imperial officials to whose care a religious community was entrusted. In 1289 the bailiff of the royal domain in Alsace was entitled to the *hospicium advocati imperii* in the Teutonic commandery of Rufach-Sundheim, that is to say that he enjoyed the right to be lodged and entertained by this community.³⁴ Again, this reveals the Alsatian bailiff as not only being the protector of the Rufach commandery, but also as having a share in the lordship over the commandery's lands. As understood by contemporaries, the bailiff of Alsace was not only *defensor* but also *advocatus* of the Rufach commandery.

In some cases the aforementioned observation concerned not only royal or imperial officials but also even the king or emperor himself. In 1273 the Teutonic commandery of Beuggen (Germany, near Basel) offered lodging to Gertrude von Habsburg, the wife of king Rudolf and her escort.³⁵ In 1300, king Albrecht, son of Rudolf and Gertrude, was attested as protector of Beuggen.³⁶ Obviously, Beuggen was under the protection of the two Habsburg kings Rudolf and Albrecht, in return for which the commandery was obligated to lodge members of the royal family. Rudolf von Habsburg is known for his efforts to restore royal rights after the death of Frederick II in 1250.³⁷ However, his attempts at applying this policy to the Teutonic Order do not differentiate between the respective juridical terms *defensor* and *advocatus*. It appears already in Rudolf's general privilege for the order in 1273.³⁸ This seeming confusion of juridical terms is unsurprising if one considers the variety of uses of the order's privilege in the cases of individual applications of these general law rules either in court or in other cases. The same observation can be made for the policy of several rulers of the Staufer family in regard to ecclesiastic communities supposed to be exempted from advocacy.³⁹ But according to the possible variations in the application of general juridical frameworks at the time, these kings or emperors acted legally, no less than the noblemen who have already been mentioned. Even ecclesiastic courts could be, from our modern point of view, at variance with the general rights of an ecclesiastic order. But this seeming variance is perfectly legal, if we consider the flexible use of medieval law in individual cases. It would be too simple to explain away such proceedings by compulsion only. Such an explanation is also contradicted by the use of corresponding methods in areas which have nothing to do with the advocacy. In regard to the Teutonic Order the class of the *Halbschwwestern* (half-sisters) could be mentioned. The statutes of the Teutonic Order admit the existence of a female class of *consorores* whose formal status was clearly inferior to the classes of the Teutonic priests and knights; other options for the inclusion of women into the Order are not mentioned.⁴⁰ However, we know of the existence of female convents of the Teutonic Order whose members were recruited mostly from urban and rural families of knightly rank or of good standing.⁴¹ These sisters therefore came from the same social milieu from which most Teutonic knights and possibly many priests were drawn. But there also existed in the Order serving sisters of humble origins, who were employed to carry out household tasks in the Order's male communities.⁴² These serving sisters correspond more closely to the general juridical framework in question, that is to say to the rules of the Teutonic Order, than did the aristocratic sisters, who could hardly have been expected to wash the laundry of the Order's knights and priests. Obviously the rules of the Teutonic Order were adaptable to individual cases and local exigencies. The implementation of what we might conceive as strict respect for the order's privileges or rules remains a possibility either for the Teutonic sisters or the question of advocacy. The latter case is put into evidence by the foundation of the commanderies of Sumiswald (Teutonic Order) and Tobel (Order of St John) and the behaviour of their

respective benefactors, mentioned earlier, but such a behaviour of the founders of a commandery cannot be generalized.

Another important point is the link between the administration of the royal domain and the protection of the houses of the Teutonic Order, especially after the end of the Staufeu dynasty in 1250. The commanderies of Wissembourg and Rufach-Sundheim were entrusted to the care of the respective royal bailiffs in Alsace and Speyergau. The example of the commandery of Berne shows that certain aspects of this organizing structure appear already under the rule of Frederick II. The parts of the general privileges regarding advocacy and *defensio* of orders such as the Teutonic Order and the Order of St John followed the example which was set in the tenth century by the Order of Cluny. The Cistercians should also be taken into account as some kind of forerunner. Of course, monastic and military orders exempted from advocacy should be examined together. Such an examination would necessitate a thorough knowledge of the history of medieval law, especially concerning the practical application of general law rules, such as the general privileges of an ecclesiastic order, to individual cases.

Notes

- 1 P. C. von Planta, *Adel, Deutscher Orden und Königtum im Elsass des 13. Jahrhunderts. Unter Berücksichtigung der Johanniter* (Frankfurt a. M., 1997).
- 2 M. Pacaut, *L'ordre de Cluny* (Paris, 1986).
- 3 This question has not yet been examined for the Templars.
- 4 W. Rösener, 'Zisterzienserklöster unter kaiserlicher Schirmherrschaft', *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 33 (1974), 24–52. See also W. Rösener, *Reichsabtei Salem. Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Zisterzienserklusters von der Gründung bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Sigmaringen, 1974).
- 5 Privilege of Frederick I Barbarossa for the Hospitallers from 1158: *CH*, I, no. 270, pp. 203–4. Privilege of Philipp von Schwaben for the Teutonic Order from 1206: *Codex diplomaticus ordinis S. Mariae Teutonicorum. Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. J. H. Hennes, 2 vols (Mainz, 1845–1861), I, no. 7, pp. 7–8.
- 6 *Fontes rerum Bernensium. Berns Geschichtsquellen*, 10 vols (Berne, 1883–1956), II, no. 47, pp. 61–2.
- 7 *Ibid.*, no. 58, pp. 70–1.
- 8 *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*, ed. J. Escher and P. Schweizer, 13 vols (Zürich, 1888–1957), II, no. 445, pp. 324–6. See also O. P. Clavadetscher, 'Aufstieg, Machtbereich und Bedeutung der Grafen von Toggenburg', in *Die Stadt Uznach und die Grafen von Toggenburg: historische Beiträge zum Uznacher Stadtjubiläum 1228–1978*, ed. O. P. Clavadetscher (Uznach, 1978), pp. 9–36. Another member of the Toggenburg family founded the commandery of Bubikon in the actual canton of Zürich between 1191 and 1198: *Urkundenbuch Zürich*, I, no. 354, p. 235.
- 9 Clavadetscher, 'Aufstieg', pp. 25–7.
- 10 Planta, *Adel*, pp. 149, 183.
- 11 *Acta imperii inedita, Urkunden und Briefe zur Geschichte des Kaiserreiches und des Königreiches Sizilien in den Jahren 1198 bis 1273*, ed. E. Winkelmann, 2 vols (Innsbruck, 1880), I, no. 119, pp. 100–1.
- 12 *Cartulaire de Mulhouse*, ed. X. Mossmann, 6 vols (Mulhouse, 1888–1890), I, no. 9, pp. 5–7.
- 13 Planta, *Adel*, p. 44.
- 14 *Fontes rerum Bernensium*, II, no. 80, p. 95.

- 15 Ibid., nos. 142 and 240, pp. 155–7 and 261–9.
- 16 Planta, *Adel*, p. 45.
- 17 *Fontes rerum Bernensium*, II, no. 80, p. 95.
- 18 The organisation of the *Reichslandvogteien* by Rudolf von Habsburg, especially in southern Germany, is examined in H.-G. Hofacker, *Die schwäbischen Reichslandvogteien im späteren Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1980).
- 19 The original of the charter in question is lost, but there is a copy in the cartulary of the Wissembourg commandery: Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin (Strasbourg) (henceforth ADBR), 19J220. The cartulary was written in the early sixteenth century: ADBR, 19J220, fol. 84r/v. For the date of the redaction of the cartulary see Planta, *Adel*, p. 6.
- 20 The information is given by a more or less contemporary source, a chronicle written during the first years of the fourteenth century in a Dominican convent situated in the Alsatian city of Colmar. See *Chronicon Colmariense*, ed. P. Jaffé, *MGH SS*, 17 (Hanover, 1861), pp. 240–70 (reference to the commandery of Rufach-Sundheim on p. 263).
- 21 ADBR 36J1/92: copy from the nineteenth century, the original is lost. See also Planta, *Adel*, p. 55.
- 22 For Johann von Lichtenberg as bailiff of Alsace see Planta, *Adel*, p. 55.
- 23 The charters of the donations of Eberhard von Ettendorf to the Teutonic Order have been edited in F. J. Mone, ‘Urkunden über das Unterelsass’, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 15 (1863), 156–9. A copy of the charter of 1252 from the sixteenth century can be found in ADBR E 2365.
- 24 See note 21.
- 25 For the Lichtenberg family see F. Eyer, *Das Territorium der Herren v. Lichtenberg 1202–1480. Untersuchungen über den Besitz, die Herrschaft und die Hausmachtpolitik eines oberrheinischen Herrengeschlechts* (Strasbourg, 1938).
- 26 Planta, *Adel*, p. 55.
- 27 The process between the Hospitallers of Mulhouse and Heinrich Walther von Steinbrunn and its antecedents can be followed through two charters of 1276 and 1278 of the Archives départementales du Haut-Rhin in Colmar (32 H 6 and 32 H 7 Sennheim). The charters are also edited in Planta, *Adel*, pp. 289–91.
- 28 The Steinbrunn family did not own property within the area where the first lands and revenues of the Hospitallers of Mulhouse are situated, i.e. the area of the city of Mulhouse and its surroundings.
- 29 B. Boesch, ed. ‘Das Jahrzeitbuch der Deutschordenskommende Hitzkirch’, *Geschichtsfreund*, 123 (1973), 39. This necrology of the Hitzkirch commandery dates from 1399. It is the first conserved necrologic document of this house.
- 30 Planta, *Adel*, pp. 57–60.
- 31 Ibid., p. 199.
- 32 The best example for this is, in the context of this contribution, the privilege of king Rudolf von Habsburg for the Teutonic Order from 1273, which is discussed later.
- 33 See for the example of the Cistercians Rösener, *Schirmherrschaft*, pp. 41–2.
- 34 See note 20.
- 35 *Chronicon Colmariense*, p. 244.
- 36 King Albrecht is naming several mediators to settle a conflict between the Beuggen commandery and a local lord (charter of King Albrecht from 1300: Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, D 139). This type of intervention is typical of a *defensor*.
- 37 See for example K. F. Krieger, *Rudolf von Habsburg* (Darmstadt, 2003).
- 38 *Codex diplomaticus ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum*, I, no. 231, pp. 201–3. See also Planta, *Adel*, p. 50.
- 39 In 1155 the emperor Frederick I Barbarossa called himself *advocatus seu defensor* of the Cistercian monastery of Salem near Lake Constance (see Rösener, *Salem*, p. 42).
- 40 Rule 31 in the statutes of the Teutonic Order describes *consorores* and their position within the Order under the title *de mulieribus ad servicia recipiendis*. See *SDO*, p. 52.

- 41 The best example within the region of the Upper Rhine is a convent of aristocratic sisters of the Teutonic Order in the city of Berne which was incorporated into the Order in the fourteenth century. Originally, the sisters had been beguines. See K. Utz-Tremp, 'Kanton Bern', in *Helvetia Sacra* 9:2: *Beginen und Begarden*, ed. Kuratorium der Helvetia Sacra (Basel, 1995), pp. 243–313.
- 42 See for example M. Gmelin, ed. 'Urkundenbuch der Deutsch-Ordens Commende Beuggen', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 28 (1876–1879), 411.

17 The role of the legend of Saint Barbara's head in the conflict of the Teutonic Order and Świętopełk, the duke of Pomerania

Maria Starnawska

Translated by Agnieszka Sokołowska

Until the mid-fifteenth century, Starogród Chelmiński (*Althausen* in German) was the most important pilgrimage destination in the state of the Teutonic Order – the gord which was later to become the town of Chełmno transferred to its current location in 1251.¹ It was here that the relics of the head of Saint Barbara,² an early fourth-century martyr,³ were venerated. Probably already in 1319 the sanctuary in Starogród was granted an indulgence, which is now lost. By the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth century Starogród had also become a travel destination for pilgrims from outside the Teutonic Order state. They included Anna, wife of Vytautas, grand duke of Lithuania, who visited Starogród in 1400, and the traveller and diplomat Gilbert de Lannoy, who went there in 1414. The latter saw the reliquaries containing the saint's skull and arm. He also saw some kind of depiction of her, most probably in form of a silver figurine. The considerable importance of the Starogród sanctuary is reflected in the high number of votive offerings it attracted, which are recorded in the fifteenth-century inventories.⁴

In 1457, during his thirteen-year-long war with the Teutonic Order, the king of Poland, Casimir Jagiellon, pledged the valuables of the Gdańsk and Starogród burghers in an effort to raise money for the purchase of Marienburg castle from Teutonic Order mercenaries.⁵ Sacred objects that were not repurchased from the pledge remained in Gdańsk, where they were venerated until 1577, when they were melted into scrap.⁶ As confirmed by the early sixteenth-century Polish chronicler Matthias of Miechów, Saint Barbara's head was at that time still in Gdańsk. According to Teresa Mroczko, however, documents relating to the pledge mention only the figurine and arm reliquary of Saint Barbara, while stating that her head had remained in possession of the king. Mroczko further believes that the Gothic-style herm of Saint Barbara at the monastery of canons regular at Czerwińsk in Mazovia, first confirmed in 1631, was, in fact, the Starogród reliquary. In her opinion, the Gothic-style herm which the Teutonic Knights had commissioned had replaced the Romanic-style box reliquary which had contained the relic when it had come into the possession of the Teutonic Order. According to this view, after Casimir Jagiellon had won his war with the Order, he donated the herm to Czerwińsk abbey to commemorate the fact that his father Ladislaus Jagiellon's army had forded the Vistula on its march towards Prussia, where it defeated the

Order at Grunwald in 1410.⁷ Because the valuables pledged in Gdańsk have not survived and the Starogród jewels are not clearly specified in the sources, however, this conclusion is far from certain.

The Teutonic Order's historiography (both from within and outside Prussia) contains different traditions of the relic's origin. The relationships between these traditions are the subject of scientific inquiry. The archetype of the relic's story probably originated during the mid-thirteenth century at the Order's convent at Starogród/Chelmino. According to Tomasz Jasiński, the oldest record of the story is found in the second half of a German text erroneously thought to be the account of Grand Master Herman of Salza of the conquest of Prussia. The first half of the text (or indeed the entire text) has in the past been attributed to the Grand Masters Henry of Hohenlohe and Hartmann of Heldringen.⁸ Other versions of the tradition are included in the *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* by Peter of Dusburg (1326),⁹ in the *Chronicon's* rhymed rendition into German by Nikolaus von Jeroschin (second quarter of the fourteenth century),¹⁰ and in the *Translacio et miracula sanctae Barbarae* (composed sometime during the second quarter of the fourteenth century).¹¹ Between 1331 and 1335 Grand Master Luther of Braunschweig wrote a poem about the acquisition of the relics of Saint Barbara by the Order, but the poem has not survived.¹² The story is also included in several fifteenth-century chronicles.¹³

Although the various accounts differ slightly in detail, they all offer a similar description of the circumstances in which the Teutonic Order acquired Saint Barbara's head in 1242 during a period of dramatic political shifts in the lower Vistula and on the Baltic Sea. In c.1230 Duke Conrad of Mazovia had invited the Teutonic Knights to conquer pagan Prussia. The Order had settled at Chelmino on the right side of the Vistula, and this settlement had led to the creation of the state of the Teutonic Order in that area.¹⁴ Gdańsk-Pomerania, on the left side of the lower Vistula, which had been incorporated into Poland in the first half of the twelfth century and had come under the rulership of the Piast dynasty during the feudal division of the country, was subjected to the dukes of Cracow, who ruled supreme over all Polish dukes. Parts of Pomerania were ruled on behalf of the dukes by stewards (referred to in the sources as *principes* or *domini*) residing in one of the region's major urban settlements (e.g. Gdańsk and Lubiszewo). It is debatable whether these stewards were clerks or rulers dependent on the duke of Cracow. It is also a matter of debate whether they were members of the old Pomeranian ruling dynasty (predating Pomerania's incorporation into Poland) or Pomeranian magnates or whether they came from the central part of Poland. Their status was undoubtedly lower than that of Piast dukes, and all were subject to the high duke. The family which ruled as stewards of Gdańsk since the last quarter of the twelfth-century ruled over entire Gdańsk-Pomerania by the early thirteenth-century.¹⁵ Świętopełk, *princeps* of Gdańsk since c.1217, became increasingly independent because of his involvement in the internal conflicts of the Polish Piast dynasty. In 1227 he proclaimed himself independent duke (*dux*) and had the duke of Cracow, Leszek the White, whom he had served as steward, assassinated. The ensuing chaos enabled Świętopełk to hold ducal power over Gdańsk-Pomerania until his death in 1266, after which his son and cousins inherited his lands.¹⁶ Świętopełk

made a point of manifesting his power, which is illustrated by his foundation of a Dominican monastery in Gdańsk in 1227.¹⁷

Both of the political entities that were created, Świątpełk's duchy of Pomerania and the state of the Teutonic Order, attempted to gain control over the Vistula, which was a strategic watercourse that was crucial for transportation and effectively constituted the border between the two states (see Figure 17.1). In order to achieve this, Świątpełk had ordered the construction of the gord of Sartowice on the Vistula, which alarmed the Teutonic Knights. In 1242 this led to war between Świątpełk and the Order and its allies, Duke Conrad of Mazovia and a younger brother of Duke Leszek (who had been assassinated in 1227). At one point during the war, on the eve of St Barbara's Day (3–4 December) 1242, a small force of Teutonic Knights took Sartowice.¹⁸ This victory subsequently became an important element in the Order's historiography, as represented by the already-mentioned

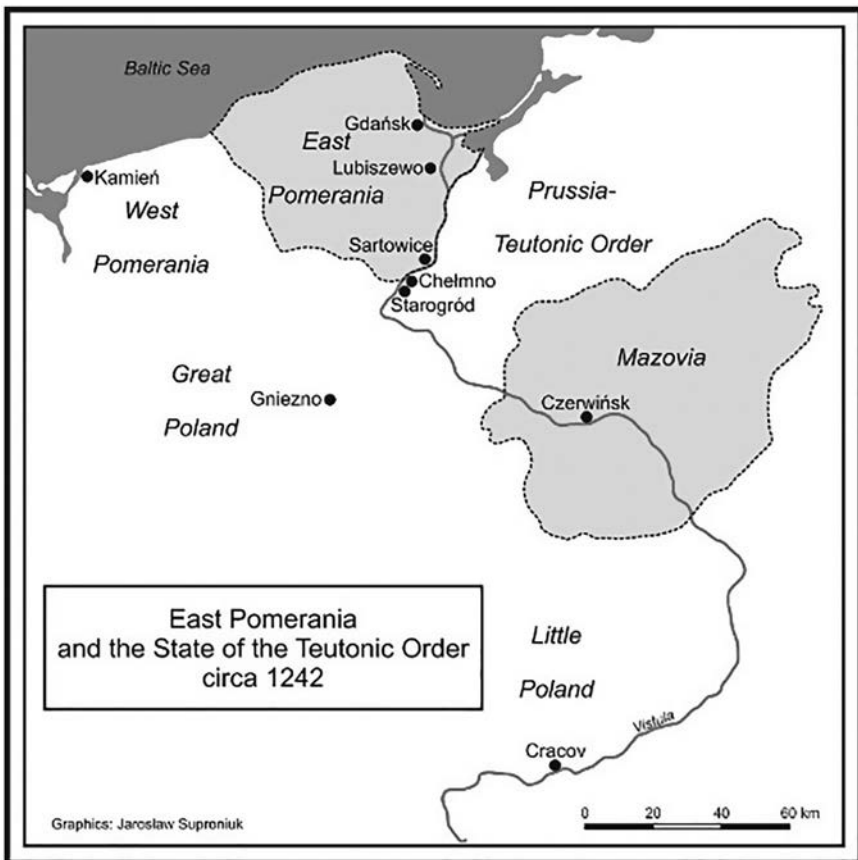


Figure 17.1 Eastern Pomerania and the State of the Teutonic Order circa 1242

Graphics: © Jarosław Suproniuk.

texts, which probably were based on the Chelmno archetype dating from the mid-thirteenth century.¹⁹

In these sources Świętopełk, who had founded the Dominican monastery in Gdańsk, is portrayed as an enemy of Christianity (in the account erroneously attributed to Hermann of Salza) and *tyrannus et pseudocristianus* (in the *Translacio*).²⁰ According to the pseudo-account of Herman of Salza and the *Translacio*, on the eve of St Barbara's Day the enemy was attacked by a small force of twenty-four Teutonic Knights who were inspired by their belief in the intercessory power of the saint.²¹ With divine assistance they captured the town at night, took many prisoners, and seized the duke's treasure. In the castle vault they found a chest sealed with Świętopełk's own seal in which was a box reliquary (*buchse* in German, *pyxis* in Latin) with fragments of Saint Barbara's skull and the original identifying document. During thanksgiving prayer one of the female prisoners told the knights about a revelation she had experienced the previous night. Saint Barbara had appeared to her in a dream asking the woman to join her on her journey to attend mass in Chelmno. The woman had fallen off her bed and woken up at the exact moment when the Teutonic Knights had entered Sartowice. Acting on the saint's wish, the Knights ceremoniously moved her relic to Starogród. The narrative does not mention the relic's early history, but its authenticity was confirmed by the document and the woman's revelation.²²

The *Translacio* complements this narrative with another story from the relic's earlier history. It mentions three second-hand accounts (*alii dicunt, quod*) relating to the relic of Saint Barbara before 1242 but does not conclude which one the author believes to be the most probable. According to the first, the pilgrims who had stolen the relic in Rome (a classic *furtum sacrum*) on their way home had fallen prey to pirates near the Pomeranian coast, who in turn were punished by the *inclitus dux Pomeranie*. The duke had the relic deposited for safekeeping in Sartowice. According to the second version the newly converted ruler (*princeps*) of Pomerania had gone on pilgrimage to Rome where the pope had presented him with the relic, expecting him and his descendants to safeguard it *quasi jure hereditario*. According to the third version, a papal legate bound for Denmark who had suffered shipwreck had been taken prisoner by Pomeranian shore-dwellers who in turn had handed over the valuables they had taken from the ship, including Saint Barbara's head, to Świętopełk. Several years later the bishop of Kamień (in Pomerania) had come to visit his relative Świętopełk and had convinced him to release the legate, who then, out of gratitude, had persuaded the pope to exempt the bishopric of Kamień from control by the archbishops of Gniezno.²³

These narratives, which were composed as late as the fourteenth century, clearly contradict the legend that the relic had translated from Sartowice to Starogród. They depict the duke of Pomerania as a just ruler and good Christian by pointing out his relation to the bishop of Kamień and reverence for the relics of Saint Barbara. They also point out the fact that it had been the saint's will that her relics remained in Pomerania.²⁴ Jolanta Dworzaczkowa has aptly demonstrated that the narrative had been incorporated into the *Translacio* uncritically and without the effort of bringing it in line with the rest of the text. Such narratives would not have

been created by an author associated with the Teutonic Order. They are therefore remnants of another tradition that had developed in Gdańsk-Pomerania before its conquest by the Order in 1308/1309.²⁵ Only after the conquest would the authors have been able to acquaint themselves with the local oral tradition. This was facilitated by the Teutonic Order's diplomatic efforts to settle territorial disputes (also relating to Pomerania) with the kingdom of Poland before and during the residence of the papal legatine court in Warsaw in 1339. The Order had collected documents proving its legal claim to the lands and sought papal support.²⁶ Statements supporting its claims were sent to the pope, for example via the superior of the Dominican convent in Gdańsk.²⁷ For this reason the Teutonic Knights needed to obtain information about the history of Pomerania. The Dominicans in Gdańsk had preserved the tradition about their monastery's founder: Świętopełk. His family had ceased to exist in 1294,²⁸ and the memory of him as an enemy and his rule in Pomerania therefore no longer posed a threat to the Teutonic Order in the region. Instead the Order's dispute over Pomerania was with the Piasts, who were the descendants of Conrad of Mazovia, who had been an ally of the Order during the 1242 war with Świętopełk.²⁹

The most extensive version of the papal legate's adventures lends credence to the bishops of Kamień's efforts in the mid-fourteenth century to exempt their bishopric from the authority of the archbishops of Gniezno, which suggests that this version had been composed in West Pomerania during the early fourteenth century.³⁰ The two shorter versions, on the other hand, very likely were composed by authors closely associated with Świętopełk in an attempt to legitimize his rule. They are, therefore, probably distorted in their perspectives.³¹ The fact that the narrative developed this context and that the Teutonic Order's version of the capture of the relic in Sartowice took shape as early as the mid-thirteenth century further confirms that Saint Barbara's head played an important role in the political propaganda of both Świętopełk and the Order.

Both short versions of the Pomeranian tradition suggest that the relic of Saint Barbara was meant to be used by Świętopełk as a fundament for his rule. Medieval states customarily used relics of important saints for this purpose because saints were widely believed to make their presence felt in a political community who paid reverence to them; the importance of Saint Denis as patron saint of France and of Saints Wenceslas and Vitus as patrons of Bohemia in what is now the Czech Republic are good examples in case. In Poland the cults of Saint Adalbert and Saint Florian fulfilled similar roles as conduits of identity, and it was therefore easy for Świętopełk to try to use Saint Barbara in a similar way.³²

According to the two shorter narratives, the head of Saint Barbara was moved from Rome to Pomerania. Sainly relics could play an important part in forming a community's identity, especially if they had been transferred from far away, as had been the case, for example, with the body of Saint Isidore of Seville, translated from Seville to Leon in 1063, or with the remains of the Three Kings, translated from Milan to Cologne in 1164.³³ In the present case it might be relevant that in 1184 Pope Lucius III had presented Casimir the Just, duke of Cracow and high duke of Poland, whose father Leszek the White had been murdered by men from

Świętopelk's entourage, with the relic of Saint Florian,³⁴ which Casimir in turn had passed on to his descendants *quasi jure hereditario*.³⁵ Until the occupation of Gdańsk-Pomerania by Świętopelk the stewards of Gdańsk-Pomerania did not possess the *jus hereditarius*, because they had been appointed by the dukes of Cracow. Moreover, a hereditary guardianship over Saint Barbara's skull also added a sacral dimension to the family's claim of hereditary control over Gdańsk-Pomerania.

Both shorter versions depict Świętopelk as a just Christian ruler worthy of ruling Pomerania. The tale of the relic's eventful translation by sea to Pomerania contains plenty of indicators that Saint Barbara wanted her relic to remain in the region. The relic's theft by the pilgrims would not have been successful if it had been in contradiction to the saint's wishes.³⁶ As is customary in hagiographical accounts like this, the driving of the pilgrims' ship towards the Pomeranian shore was interpreted as a sign of the saint's intentions.³⁷ The danger ceased only after Świętopelk had deposited the relics in a safe place at Sartowice. This would have suggested that Barbara had chosen the gord as resting place for her relics and the duke as their guardian as a way to enact her presence in the duchy.³⁸

In 1242, fifteen years after his takeover of the duchy of Gdańsk-Pomerania, Świętopelk lost possession of Saint Barbara's relic. The legend at this point stops to be the ideological foundation for his rule, and the traditions which had stressed this particular role were no longer kept alive.

The tradition attributed to the Teutonic Order according to which the relic had been moved from Sartowice to Chelmno also conveys a distinct ideological message. Although the Teutonic Knights had not attacked Sartowice in order to capture the relic, because they had not known that it was there,³⁹ they had forcefully removed it from its previous owners, which was a kind of *furtum sacrum*. The fact that the *furtum sacrum* was successful served as proof that the saint had wished to move to the new location. The wish was expressed even more emphatically when Saint Barbara revealed herself to the female prisoner from Sartowice, a subject of the duke, who was in turn the Teutonic Order's enemy.⁴⁰ Her account of Saint Barbara choosing the Teutonic Knights as their new guardians must have carried particular weight, because it indicated that Barbara had wished to leave a community ruled by a bad Christian duke and enter into the guardianship of the Teutonic Order.⁴¹ The fact that the Teutonic Knights discovered the relic after they had defeated an enemy of Christianity on Saint Barbara's Day strengthened their conviction that the saint had interceded in their favour. Moreover, the departure of the saint had deprived Świętopelk of sacral legitimacy to rule and of his claim to Sartowice. It is reasonable to believe that in the Knights' opinion events had proven that the saint no longer wished for Świętopelk to rule over Sartowice to the detriment of the defenders of Christianity.

Two issues remain debatable. The first is whether the Teutonic Knights intended to use the relic taken from Sartowice as ideological foundation for their state, in which case it would have had to compete with other valuable relics, for example the piece of the Holy Cross presented to the Order by Emperor Frederick II,⁴² and relics pertaining to the Virgin Mary, Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia, and Saint George.⁴³ The relic's role as ideological fundament for the Teutonic Order state is

not as obvious and unambiguous as it had been for the duchy of Gdańsk-Pomerania under Świątoplek.

The second question is whether the fact that the Teutonic Knights created their own tradition of Saint Barbara's relic as early as in the thirteenth century should be interpreted as an intentional attempt to refute the meaning ascribed to the relics by Świątoplek.⁴⁴ The fact that the Teutonic Knights had chosen St Barbara's Day for their attack on Sartowice would seem to support this assumption. According to the Order's tradition, the brothers had been ignorant of the presence of the relic in the gord before the attack and were surprised to discover it there. However, it is unlikely that the Teutonic Knights had been completely unaware of the presence of such an important venerational object at a place that had given them such great cause for concern. Their surprise at finding the relic may not have been, therefore, entirely genuine, but rather was a well-staged performance (staged, perhaps, for the benefit of low-ranking knights). The cult of St. Barbara's head was an important tool of political propaganda for both parties fighting each other in 1242.

Notes

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- 38 Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, pp. 532–3.
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18 The European nobilities and the Order of St John, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries

Anton Caruana Galizia

The history of the Order of St John is closely linked to the history of the nobilities of Europe, the élite social groups that were at the centre of cultural life in European societies and of the conflicts which they experienced. In one sense this is self-evident, as the Order recruited the great majority of its membership from the nobilities of Europe and derived an important aspect of its identity from this élite social group. The two are also linked through their historiography, in that historians' ideas concerning both the nobilities of Europe and the Order of St John during what is conventionally termed in Anglophone scholarship the early-modern period, have followed a similar trajectory, one that has shifted from characterizing their fortunes from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries as one of 'decline', to employ a basic terminology, to one of 'triumph'.¹ For the nobilities of Europe this re-assessment has involved asserting, broadly speaking, their continued dominance, politically, economically, and socially.² As for the Order of St John, recent monographs have argued that far from experiencing a downward spiral into irrelevance and anachronism, as Elizabeth Schermerhorn described in her influential book on the subject almost a century ago, the Order continued to play an active role in Mediterranean politics and saw recruitment levels increase.³ These historiographical parallels are suggestive of the links that existed between the fortunes of the Order of St John and the nobilities of Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and it is the purpose of this chapter to explore some of those links and to put forward some directions for research into the questions that emerge from the discussion.

To begin with a brief definition, historical scholarship on the nobilities of Europe defines this social group, or 'social order', as possessing a status based on various types of privileges: fiscal, political, legal, and honorific. These privileges, in the narrow sense of the term employed by Michael Bush, were legal provisions relating to both property and person that differentiated nobles from the rest of the population.⁴ It is important to be more specific about which nobilities were linked to the Order of St John. For this period, stretching from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, that means the Roman Catholic nobilities of Europe. Recent scholarship on the impact of the Reformation on the military orders suggests that evangelical hostility to monasticism served as an added impetus for regional branches to gain independence from the central institutions of their respective orders, thus ensuring

their continuity at the regional or local level.⁵ The extent to which this applied to the Hospitallers may benefit from further interrogation, however. Johanna Maria Van Winter's research into the Order of St John in the Netherlands, for example, has revealed continued contact between the Magistracy in Malta and commanderies in the Dutch Republic.⁶ That consideration aside, and to be more specific still, the Order of St John recruited its membership from the nobilities of the Catholic states of Europe: the Iberian kingdoms of Portugal, Castile, and Aragon; the Kingdom of France; the various states of the Italian peninsula and the Kingdom of Sicily; and the Catholic territories under Austrian Habsburg dominion. These regions represent roughly the catchment area for recruits to the Order of St John from around the mid-sixteenth to around the mid-eighteenth century. Determining how big the pool of recruitment was for this period is a little more problematic as scholarly assessments of what percentage of the population held noble status vary, not only by region, but also over time.

In his study on noble wealth, Michael Bush classified the Spanish kingdoms, as well as the Italian states of Venice and Genoa, as having populous nobilities representing around 3 per cent of the population or above; the Kingdom of France and the German states as having a noble population estimated at around 1 per cent whereas the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples had minute nobilities of less than 1 per cent.⁷ Treating the European nobilities as a whole during the early-modern period, Bush has asserted elsewhere that rates of ennoblement made up for the rate of extinction of noble households, although in a later general survey, Jonathan Dewald states that the density of noble populations declined over this period, even as the number of titled aristocrats increased.⁸ In the introduction to a more recent two-volume collection of essays on the European nobilities during this period, Hamish Scott and Christopher Storrs state that, in general, the number of nobles increased over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although there were exceptions to this trend.⁹ The more detailed studies on the different regional nobilities in those two volumes confirm this varied picture. On the nobility of the Kingdom of Portugal, Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro concludes that the number of noble households declined as the lesser nobility merged with the commonality, whereas the aristocracy formed a small titled caste around the royal court.¹⁰ The nobilities of the Spanish kingdoms experienced a significant influx of new nobles during the sixteenth century that swelled their numbers and maintained them across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹¹ Although figures for the noble population of the Kingdom of France are problematic, Julian Swann suggests that the eighteenth century saw a significant decrease in their numbers.¹² Claudio Donati suggests a similar decline in numbers for the nobilities of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the states of Lucca, Venice, and Genoa, whereas that of the Duchy of Milan remained stable.¹³ In the Austrian lands, the Catholic aristocratic households attached to the court of Vienna strengthened their presence at the expense of the lower, mostly Protestant, nobility whose numbers progressively dwindled.¹⁴

What were the implications of this demographic spread for the Order of St John? In the first instance, available figures for regional variations in the Order's

membership do not correspond directly to the regional variation in the density of noble populations. If anything, the relationship between the density of a noble population and membership of the Order appears inversely proportional. If we take Henry Sire's tabulation of figures for censuses made in 1631 and 1635 and compare the figures available for only Knights of Justice, excluding other levels of membership, we find that the most populous nobility, that of Spain, represented by the Langues of Aragon and Castile (with the latter also representing the Portuguese nobility), did not have a correspondingly higher membership.¹⁵ Those two Langues combined made up around 19 per cent of the total number of knights in 1631 and 1635. By contrast, for the Kingdom of France (a territory similar in size but with a nobility of around 1 per cent of the population represented in the Order by the Langues of Provence, Auvergne, and France) the figures account for over double the number of knights at around the 44 per cent mark for the same years. Figures for the German Langue are complicated by the confessional divisions in the region it covered, but if we look at individual Italian states then the same picture emerges. According to the data examined by Angelantonio Spagnoletti for Knights of Justice received into the Langue of Italy between 1550 and 1718, we see that those from the 'minute' nobility of the Kingdom of Sicily number 467, representing around 13 per cent of the total, whereas those for the more populous nobility of Venice number 194, representing just under 6 per cent of the total.¹⁶

Did the levels of the Order's recruitment also run counter to the long-term trend in the population levels of Europe's nobilities? The current assessment available in the scholarly literature on noble populations suggests that, contrary to the overall trend across Europe, the numbers of the Catholic nobilities, with the exception of the nobilities of the Spanish and possibly Austrian Habsburg territories, declined during this period. Figures provided by Spagnoletti, in his analysis of recruitment into the Langue of Italy from 1550 to 1718, certainly suggest a downward trend in recruitment from that region, from 547 recruits in the first quarter of the seventeenth century down to 346 recruits in the early eighteenth century.¹⁷ This decrease in numbers would be in line with the general downward trend in the populations of those nobilities most likely to contribute recruits to the Order. The lack of similar data for recruitment to the other Langues, however, means that further research is needed before any definitive conclusions can be reached. Furthermore, recent scholarly assessments on recruitment to the Order of St John suggests that, by the end of the eighteenth century, the Order had experienced a rise in recruitment.¹⁸ Here again, the trajectory of recruitment to the Order of St John during the eighteenth century is a subject that requires further research before even tentative explanations for the suggested rise in Hospitaller numbers can be put forward, especially because it runs counter to the picture of an overall decline in the noble population of Catholic Europe, particularly in the Kingdom of France, that emerges from the secondary literature.

In summary then, the incidence and geographic spread of recruitment into the Order of St John was not determined by the density of the noble population in particular regions, and it is unclear what impact any changes in that population

may have had on their numbers. These features are related to the complex procedures put in place by the Order of St John that limited those levels of recruitment by refusing entry as a Knight of Justice to those of commoner status and, definitively from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, to the recently ennobled.

That the process by which noble status came to define membership of the Order of St John took place over several centuries is well known, so that only a brief summary is necessary here.¹⁹ The emergence of classes of membership in the Order and the qualification of legitimate birth to a knightly family for those aspiring to the rank of Knight of Justice emerged in the thirteenth century. The element of noble lineage was introduced in the 1350s, and its extension to four generations in the male line appears in a statute of 1428. It was in the mid-sixteenth century, however, that the requirement of four quarters of nobility became a statutory rule, although the different Langues modified it to fit with similar qualifications of noble status that were prevalent in their regions of recruitment. Those from the Kingdom of France required eight quarters; the Iberian Langues included the stipulation that all four quarters had to demonstrate *limpieza de sangre*; the Langue of Italy required 200 years of noble status in all four lines; whereas the German Langue applied sixteen quarters with other provisos. From 1598 to 1631 these qualifications, along with the procedures used to determine them, were firmly established and formalized by the Order's various Chapters General. This much at least has been the focus of current scholarship. What remains is to interrogate the external factors that led to this process. Current studies on the Hospitallers seem to take for granted that this tendency towards exclusivity should have been the case, but why would a military and religious Order choose to limit its recruitment rather than expand it? Other religious orders of the Catholic Church, which did not lack recruits from élite households, did not introduce similar qualifications.

One intuitive response would focus on the limits to the Order of St John's material resources, especially the number of commanderies. This is to some extent a useful insight when it comes to analyzing the representation of regional nobilities within the Order. The higher number of knights originating from the Kingdom of France is replicated in the greater number of commanderies available in that region (around 44 per cent of the total), whereas the lower number of commanderies for the Iberian kingdoms (around 25 per cent) is in line with the correspondingly lower recruitment.²⁰ However, the assignment of commanderies did not follow automatically once a Hospitaller attained the rank of Knight of Justice, so that there were many more such knights than commanderies at any one time. The number of commanderies in a given region reflected recruitment levels from that region, albeit indirectly and with some temporal delay, rather than the other way around. Current scholarship on this subject also shows that following the losses sustained as a result of the evangelical reformations in Europe, the Order not only maintained the number of its commanderies but was also capable of adding to them. It did this by taking over the possessions of other orders, such as that of St Anthony in 1776, through bequests from noble families in return for various guarantees of membership, and by reorganizing its possessions, as was the case

with the Langue of Italy.²¹ In short, the introduction of stricter qualifications for entry into the Order did not result from a perceived strain on the Order's resources. A historical analysis of these developments should therefore take into account the broader context of developments in the cultural and social practices of Europe's nobilities.

As far as the developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth century are concerned, the tendency towards further qualifications in noble status required for admission into the Order was in line with a long-term trend towards greater distinction within élite social groups across Europe. Broadly speaking, and as a result of various economic, social, and political pressures, there emerged a greater degree of stratification within the nobilities of Europe, as established noble households developed into titled aristocracies that dominated both sovereign courts and civic institutions. The distance, so to speak, between the aristocratic households and those of the lesser nobility lengthened progressively over this period, in terms of wealth, privilege, and influence.²² This shift is reflected in ideas of noble status, on which there was much debate during the sixteenth century. Claudio Donati, for example, has noted how ideas of nobility based on personal qualities of merit derived from moral virtue and honourable conduct conflicted with ideas of noble status derived from birth and lineage, and how it was the latter view that came to dominate ideas of nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²³ Ellery Schalk has charted a similar trend for ideas concerning nobility in the Kingdom of France.²⁴ I am as yet unaware of similar studies for other regions, although the general scholarship confirms this trend towards definitions and ideas of noble status that gave more emphasis to lineage than to personal qualities.²⁵

The Order's qualifications and procedures for membership favoured those noble households that had succeeded in maintaining their status across several generations and, by virtue of that continuity, distinguish themselves from other noble households within the same region or territory with whom they theoretically shared equal status but whose acquisition of that status had been more recent. From the mid-sixteenth century, and arguably even before that, entry into the Order of St John as a Knight of Justice was therefore based not so much on regional definitions of noble status, but on regional distinctions *within* noble status – distinctions that were based on increasingly dominant conceptions of noble status as a hereditary attribute, and of its continuity as structured by concepts of lineage.

Historical scholarship has devoted a great deal of attention to the level of continuity within noble households as it is seen as an important element in analyzing the continued dominance of the nobility as a social group. Among the political, social, and economic factors that have been identified as contributing towards this phenomenon, the one most directly related to the Order of St John is the analysis of what are termed 'family strategies', especially those directed towards systems of inheritance and succession.²⁶ Among the nobilities of Europe, the long-term trend was towards increasingly restrictive practices surrounding the practice of entail (*fidei commissum*), which became increasingly prevalent across the

continent from the early sixteenth century, especially in the Catholic regions of Europe.²⁷ Through the use of legal mechanisms that kept a noble family's patrimony intact and entrusted it to one male individual per generation, these practices structured relations within noble families by limiting marriages and establishing hierarchies of succession, as well as providing a core identity to the household and a focus for the activities of its members that were directed towards maintaining that identity, and the patrimony from which this was derived, across the generations.

The spread of these practices have been characterized as detrimental to the lives of those excluded from inheritance and succession, namely women and cadet sons. It was, of course, from the latter that the Order of St John recruited members to the rank of Knight of Justice. As is commonly acknowledged, entry into the Order of St John secured an occupation for cadet sons of the nobility that was commensurate with their status and the participation in activities that were associated with it. It relieved the candidate's household from the pressures of securing an appropriate livelihood and, as Spagnoletti has pointed out, added lustre to the social standing of that household and the households of the regional nobility from which that household originated.²⁸ It also secured an image of orthodoxy in the religious sphere, an important consideration for this period, and through the strictures concerning celibacy, mitigated against the possibility of unwanted demands on the patrimony through future claims of inheritance.

The spread and dominance of these restrictive practices governing inheritance and succession would suggest the creation of a social situation favourable to the maintenance of high levels of recruitment to the Order. However, as has been pointed out by Spagnoletti and others, any analysis of a connection between the two should take into consideration the existence of the other avenues that were open to cadets.²⁹ There were of course several other military orders through which cadet sons could acquire honours and even advancement, and these did not necessarily limit their recruitment to the territories in which they operated. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church offered arguably better rewards for able cadets in the Italian states with the necessary connections to lead to a successful career. Within states, there remained considerable scope for service to the sovereign or participation in regional political institutions. In Portugal, for example, the preference was for those military orders taken over by the Crown that offered greater prestige and paths to preferment.³⁰

There is, however, another variable that I think should be considered. In her discussion on the ecclesiastical careers of cadets in Italy, Renata Ago has emphasized the extent to which such careers were embarked on not merely to relieve families of a perceived burden, but as an investment directed towards further augmenting the social, economic, and political position of the household.³¹ As Ago has further demonstrated, those cadet sons aspiring to positions of authority within the Catholic Church could assume very important roles in directing the affairs of their household, in channelling various types of resources to them, in securing favourable marriages, and in supporting and expanding the networks of patrons and clients that were so important to the success of their household's strategies.³²

What I wish to emphasize here is that the choice of a career for cadet sons of the nobility was dependent on the contribution such a career was perceived to make to the fortunes of the particular noble household, mediated through the various paths that were open to them. I would argue further that the Order of St John's success in recruiting cadet sons of these nobilities therefore relied on the extent to which it supported, enhanced, or accommodated these strategies. This approach draws on recent scholarship on kinship practices in European societies that has been particularly relevant to the study of nobilities.³³ As Ago has noted, the social position and status of one member of a noble household reflected on the status and social position of the household and noble clan as a whole.³⁴ From this perspective, membership in the Order of St John can be viewed as a form of social capital for noble households during this period, social capital which would then be invested in further securing the interests of that household and its continuity over several generations.³⁵ This was accomplished through further advancement in the ranks of the Order, thereby securing the admission of future generations. Spagnoletti has noted the recurrence of Knights of Justice from particular noble households in Italy.³⁶ Maria Antonietta Visceglia cites an intriguing example of a Neapolitan Hospitaller, Domenico Firrao, instituting a modest entail in favour of last-born sons in future generations of his household to fund their entry into the Order.³⁷ This intergenerational association between noble houses and the Order of St John predates the period being discussed here. Gregory O'Malley has noted a similar incidence for the English Langue during the fifteenth century.³⁸ Membership of the Order also served as a springboard for a career in the service of a sovereign.³⁹ Or it provided a means of supporting the position and role of other members of the household within regional political institutions.⁴⁰ The existing scholarship on the Order provides several further examples of Hospitaller knights actively participating in the affairs of their households, although there has yet to be a detailed investigation into their incidence and significance.

The continued relevance of the Order of St John to the Catholic nobilities of Europe, a relevance that persisted well into the eighteenth century, presents a challenging problem to the historian. The earlier discussion is an attempt to reframe that problem by arguing that membership of the Order involved the adoption of a role within the noble household. Such a discussion can only be a provisional one. What kind of contribution such a role involved, and the extent to which it was aligned or conflicted with Hospitaller ideology, requires further investigation. Jochen Schenk's study on Templar families in Burgundy, Champagne, and Languedoc during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which identifies 'family traditions' of crusader activity and reform piety as key elements in sustaining links between noble households and Templar houses, has demonstrated the usefulness of this perspective for the study of military orders.⁴¹ Similarly, this approach would move beyond the more problematic and perhaps vague concepts of 'crusader enthusiasm' and 'nationalization' to provide greater insights into the social and cultural practices that linked the Order of St John with the nobilities of Europe. Such a perspective would deepen our historical understanding of the social and

cultural practices of the Hospitallers themselves, and of the Order's aristocratic identity.

Notes

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- 3 E. W. Schermerhorn, *Malta of the Knights* (London, 1929); J. Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St. John* (London, 1999), pp. 116–17; H. J. A. Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (New Haven, 1996), p. 231.
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- 7 M. L. Bush, *The European Nobilities Volume II: Rich Noble, Poor Noble* (Manchester, 1988), pp. 7–11.
- 8 Bush, 'Anatomy', p. 28; Dewald, *The European Nobility*, pp. 23–7.
- 9 Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', p. 14.
- 10 N. G. Monteiro, 'Nobility and Aristocracy in Ancien Régime Portugal (Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries)', in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, I, pp. 256–8.
- 11 I. A. A. Thompson, 'The Nobility in Spain, 1600–1800', in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, I, pp. 197–200.
- 12 J. Swann, 'The French Nobility in the Eighteenth Century', in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, I, p. 157.
- 13 C. Donati, 'The Italian Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, I, pp. 289–99.
- 14 J. Van Horn Melton, 'The Nobility in the Bohemian and Austrian Lands, 1620–1780', in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, vol. 2: *North-eastern, Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. H. M. Scott (New York, 2007), pp. 171–83.
- 15 Sire, *The Knights*, p. 77.
- 16 A. Spagnoletti, *Stato, aristocrazia e ordine di Malta nell'Italia moderna* (Rome, 1988), Table 3, p. 68.
- 17 Spagnoletti, *Stato*, Table 4, p. 69.
- 18 Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, pp. 116–17; Sire, *The Knights*, p. 231.
- 19 For an overview, see J. Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, pp. 65–8; H. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 81–3.

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- 27 Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', pp. 32–4.
- 28 Spagnoletti, *Stato*, p. 129.
- 29 Spagnoletti, *Stato*, pp. 77–91; A. Blondy, 'L'Ordre de Malte, miroir brisé de la noblesse française des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', in *État et société en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, Mélanges offerts à Yves Durand*, ed. J. P. Bardet et al. (Paris, 2000), pp. 103–20.
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- 36 Spagnoletti, 'Elementi', p. 1039.
- 37 M. A. Visceglia, *Il bisogno di eternità: I comportamenti aristocratici a Napoli in età moderna* (Naples, 1988), p. 56.
- 38 G. O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460–1565* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 34–41.
- 39 D. F. Allen, 'The Order of St John as a "School for Ambassadors" in Counter-Reformation Europe', in *MO* 2, pp. 363–79.
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- 41 J. Schenk, *Templar Families, Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c. 1120–1307* (Cambridge, 2012).

19 The narrow escape of the Teutonic Order Bailiwick of Utrecht, 1811–1815¹

Renger E. de Bruin

On 27 February 1811, Napoleon signed a decree ordering the dissolution and impropriation of church property in the Dutch departments he had annexed eight months earlier. The properties identified in the decree were three former convents in the east of these territories and six chapters in and around Utrecht. But it was clear that more might follow: scope for further confiscations was provided by the following passage: ‘*Qu’il se trouve d’autres biens d’origine ecclésiastique, qui ont appartenu à des ordres militaires ou à d’autres corporations supprimés*’.² Izaak Jan Alexander Gogel, the most senior officer in the Dutch departments, promptly declared that the decree also applied to the *Ridderlijke Duitse Orde Balije van Utrecht*: The Teutonic Order of the Bailiwick of Utrecht. After nearly six centuries, the demise of the Order seemed near.

In what follows, after briefly describing the Bailiwick of Utrecht, I will reconstruct the genesis of the decree of 27 February 1811, before describing the Order’s response and how the decree was carried out. I will close with the eventual success of the lobby for its reinstatement organized by the land commander, Volkier Rudolph Bentinck, after the collapse of French authority in November 1813.

The Bailiwick of Utrecht

The institution led by Bentinck was the product of one of the bailiwicks of the Teutonic Order in the Holy Roman Empire. Although founded in 1231 as a commandery under the Bailiwick of Biesen, Utrecht had been an independent bailiwick with extensive possessions in the Northern Netherlands ever since the fourteenth century. Eventually there were fourteen commanderies under the land commander of Utrecht. Since 1346, the Bailiwick of Utrecht had its headquarters in the *Duitse Huis* – “the Teutonic House” – in a western quarter of the city. In the fifteenth and sixteen centuries, the Bailiwick of Utrecht shared the destiny of the rest of the Teutonic Order: decline and a crisis involving its survival in the period after the Reformation.

During the Dutch Revolt, despite the best attempts of the land commander of the day, Jacob Taets van Amerongen, to ensure that the bailiwick remained Catholic and maintained its ties with the grand master, the Provincial States of Utrecht imposed a Protestant land commander and the abolition of celibacy.³ This led to a

break with the central authorities that could not be repaired. The Bailiwick of Utrecht became an independent secular association of Protestant nobles under the authority of the Provincial States of Utrecht. The admission criteria – four noble quarters (i.e. four noble grandparents) and membership of the Dutch Reformed Church – made it somewhat exclusive. The bailiwick became a noble bulwark in a republic dominated by urban patricians.

This difficult transition exacerbated the decline of the bailiwick. In 1753, Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer van Twickel (1692–1766), then coadjutor, analyzed the problems and proposed reforms. These led to far-reaching changes, the most important being the automatic succession of the land commander by the coadjutor, the concentration of management in Utrecht under a newly appointed steward general (Gijsbert Dirk Cazius), and the introduction of proper book-keeping.⁴ The commanders lost their responsibility for an individual commandery and became mere members of the Order, for which they received a fixed stipend. The reorganization was a success. Cazius was able to turn the deficits into an ever-increasing surplus, thanks especially to better income from leases. By the time he passed on the office to his son Unico Willem Teutonicus in 1789, the Order's finances were in excellent shape.

Serious problems followed after the invasion by French troops in January 1795 and the outbreak of the Batavian Revolution, which repudiated the class-based society embodied by exponents such as the Bailiwick of Utrecht. The Order averted concrete threats by keeping a low profile.⁵ The knights no longer met and left matters of management to steward Cazius and Volkier Rudolph Bentinck van Schoonheten (1738–1820), the knight who resided in the Teutonic House. It was only after the revolution was over that the members could meet once more – to conclude, among other things, that the financial situation was rosy. The rise in agricultural prices since 1750, which had been accelerated by the hostilities, had helped to further increase the income from leases.

In 1806 and 1807, the bailiwick underwent various changes of leadership, with three elderly land commanders dying within the space of a single year. In August 1807, the office of land commander passed to Volkier Rudolph Bentinck. A former officer in the British and Dutch armies, he was already the *de facto* leader of the bailiwick, a position to which he now acceded formally. Some months after taking office, he was faced with an expropriation order from Louis Napoleon, who intended to move the capital of the Kingdom of Holland to Utrecht and thus needed accommodation for the ministries.⁶ After negotiations, the Teutonic House passed into government hands; in return, the Order received a building in The Hague.⁷ Although not financially disadvantageous, the fact that the authorities could summarily requisition a house so rich in tradition presaged nothing good. A further threat was the new law on nobility of 1809.

In the same period, the Dutch king's imperial brother dissolved the Teutonic Order in Germany. Ever since the outbreak of the revolutionary wars in 1792, the French had been helping themselves to ecclesiastical possessions in the Holy Roman Empire, sharing them with allied states. After the Treaty of Pressburg in December 1805, this process gathered momentum. On 24 April 1809, Napoleon

signed the decree for the abolition of the Teutonic Order in the Confederation of the Rhine, the confederation of German states allied with France. At the stroke of a pen, Napoleon ended a centuries-old institution, just as he had twelve years earlier with the Order of St John in Malta.⁸

The preparation of an order for dissolution

The French emperor had just as little respect for institutions he himself had created. Finding his brother in Holland to be insufficiently obedient, he annexed his kingdom in July 1810. Land Commander Bentinck was quick to observe that ‘the union of Holland and the French Empire’ would bring futures worries. Which precautions might ‘dissipate’ them, he wondered?⁹ He had every reason to be concerned: Napoleon intended his new territories to fill his ever-empty treasuries. Fiscal measures and the decision to reduce the national debt to a third – the so-called *tiercering* – hit wealthy individuals and institutions alike, including the Teutonic Order. And the plans went further, one option being the confiscation of goods. Although individual expropriation was ideologically unacceptable, an alternative had been found in France in 1789: the dispossession of church property and properties of feudal origin. This was wholly in line with revolutionary doctrine. As a result, churches, monasteries and military orders in France and the occupied territories lost their possessions wholesale.

The first sign of such plans came in September 1810, when the French minister of finance questioned Charles François Lebrun (1739–1824), the governor general of the Dutch departments, on the revenues of the *Hospices, Etablissements de Charité, Institutions Pieuses et autres de même nature*.¹⁰ Four months later, the burgomaster of Utrecht forwarded questionnaires to the town’s chapters (the Cathedral, St Saviour’s, St Peter’s, St John’s and St Mary’s). All responded that they were not ecclesiastical institutions. In the same period, late January 1811, Lebrun reported on the possible confiscation of church property in the area under his administration. He based his finding on preliminary inquiries by two members of the *Conseil d’État*, Izaak Jan Alexander Gogel (1765–1821) and Jean Henry Appelius (1767–1828). As minister of finance under Louis Napoleon, Gogel, by this time intendant-general of the imperial treasury in the Dutch departments, had proposed the dispossession of former church property. He now began by proposing the expropriation of the former convents at Zennewijnen, Ter Hunnepe and Ophesusden. When Lebrun’s report was being discussed by the *Conseil d’État*, these possessions were joined by the five chapters in Utrecht. In the ensuing weeks, the proposal developed into a draft decree that referred explicitly to the three former convents, the five Utrecht chapters and the chapter of St John’s in Wijk bij Duurstede. Napoleon signed it on 27 February in the Tuileries Palace.¹¹

Because of the loss of the archives of the ministry of finance and the *Conseil d’État* in the fire of 1871,¹² we cannot trace the decision-making process in detail. Between them, however, the appendices to the decree and the surviving archives in the Netherlands provide sufficient information to support the aforementioned reconstruction. Napoleon seems to have had no personal involvement in the

measure: on 27 February 1811 he signed over seventy decrees, and the text of the dissolution order did not diverge from the original draft. But as the French empire was by nature authoritarian, it was of course Napoleon who was responsible for the decision. The decree was also fully consistent with his policy on ecclesiastical institutions.

How the Bailiwick of Utrecht responded

Once the decree had been signed, its implementation followed the procedures one would expect. On 2 March, it was the turn of the ministry of finance to deal with it. It was then sent to Amsterdam, where responsibility for it lay with Gogel – who, having been closely involved in its preparation, already knew what it entailed. After discussing it with his weekly meeting with his senior staff on 14 March, Gogel composed a letter to those it targeted: the deans of the chapters and the land commander of the Teutonic Order. Gogel declared the decree to be of immediate application to the Order.

Rumours were circulating even before the letters were received. After briefly considering a protest – and even sending a delegation to Paris – the chapters quickly decided to resign themselves to the situation and to explore Gogel's offer of compensation. But the Teutonic Order resisted. Land Commander Bentinck conferred with coadjutor Jan Arend de Vos van Steenwijk (1746–1813). Drawing comfort from the fact 'that the Teutonic Order was not named explicitly in the Decree',¹³ they had the lawyer Cornelis Anthony Fannius Scholten (1767–1832) write a petition to Napoleon.

After stating that the decree did not explicitly identify the Order, the petition explained the institution's *nature réelle*.¹⁴ Its origins did indeed lie in the establishment of the *Ordre Teutonique* in the twelfth century. However, when the Netherlands became a republic in the sixteenth century, it had entirely changed in nature: since then, it had been only a '*simple association*'. Despite bearing the word bailiwick in its name, it had none of the powers of a bailiwick. The members derived no the advantages from it that would set them apart from other people in the Netherlands – they were, for example, equally liable to taxation. And as its members were not subject to a vow of celibacy, the Bailiwick of Utrecht was essentially different from a military order.

With regard to its possessions, the petition observed that these were not originally *biens ecclésiastiques*, but had been derived from *donations particulières ou de leges testamentaires*.¹⁵ They had increased as a result of wise policy and the members' contributions. In a reference to the successful reorganization under Van Wassenaer fifty years earlier, it was stressed that this had above all been the case since 1760, members now receiving *répartitions fixes* according to seniority. Together, the above meant that the Bailiwick of Utrecht was no *ordre militaire*, but a *tontine*, to which a man could accede only when a place became available upon a member's decease, and even then only if he had been registered as a child upon the payment of a fee (525 guilders). It was therefore a form of life assurance that was most expressly permitted under French law. The bailiwick – referred to

throughout the petition as *cette association* – was not therefore a *corporation privilégiée* and had never belonged to a *corporation religieuse* or to the *ordres militaires*.¹⁶ In no way could the *association* be said to violate the empire's constitution.

The petition was delivered to Governor General Lebrun by De Vos van Steenwijk and Fannius Scholten. Bentinck was ill. Lebrun informed them that the petition had little chance of success: it was the emperor's intention to dissolve bodies that benefited individual members. He referred to the Knights of Malta who, just like the commanders in Utrecht, had paid a *fournissement* upon registration, but whose order had nonetheless been dissolved. He then reminded them of the rules that had been proposed for compensation, which would also apply to those who registered. However, agreeing that the Bailiwick of Utrecht had not been named explicitly in the decree, he declared the petition admissible, and promised to dispatch it to Napoleon.

No response came from Paris. When, in October 1811, the emperor visited the annexed territories, one of the members of the Order – Frederik Gijsbert van Dedem van de Gelder (1743–1820), who was also a member of the French Senate – inquired discreetly how matters stood. When it came, the answer was both clear and disappointing: in a decree signed in Amsterdam on 22 October, Napoleon confirmed the Order's abolition. It also indicated the revenue that was estimated to result from the confiscation: 16 million francs. The sum was to be spent on improvements to the military infrastructure in the Dutch departments and also on road building, which was of equal strategic importance.¹⁷

How the order for dissolution was carried out

Once the decision with regard to the Teutonic Order was definitive, Gogel could set the Order's liquidation in motion. Taking a decision to this end on 31 December 1811, he deployed his confidant Elias Canneman, and also Everard Temminck, the officer at *Domeinen*, the property-administration authority, who was already in the process of liquidating the chapters and had also been dealing with the Order. Land Commander Bentinck, who had now abandoned the struggle, provided his full collaboration. In consultation with Canneman and Temminck, he convened a general meeting in June 1812 to discuss the liquidation of the Order's possessions. Turning their attention to the compensation and distribution of the funds promised by the authorities, the members now agreed a timetable with Gogel's men.¹⁸

An obstacle soon became apparent: the attitude of the steward, U.W.T. Cazius, who refused repeatedly to submit the documents needed for completion. Gradually, Canneman and Temminck began to suspect that Cazius had something to hide. There were indications that his accounts were not in order. When Gogel's decision of December 1811 had been announced, there had already been signs that Cazius was unwilling to supply the documents. Although the parties to the liquidation had hoped to settle matters quickly after the agreements of June 1812, it was only a few weeks before Temminck noted new delays. The deadline agreed for submitting

the final accounts covering the period until the Order's dissolution was 31 December 1812. When it passed without result, Bentinck and Canneman attempted in vain to spur Cazius into producing the papers.¹⁹

With Cazius consistently claiming that he was motivated by his loyalty to the Order, the authorities fixed their hopes on Bentinck, but when Bentinck fell gravely ill in late February 1813, the process ground to a halt. If, as he himself feared, he did not survive the illness, continuity was uncertain, seeing as the coadjutor De Vos van Steenwijk had died in the same period.²⁰ The elderly land commander asked Commander Van Dedem van de Gelder to take over in the event of his death – even viewing him as the new coadjutor, although the regulations provided no basis for this.

But Bentinck recovered. In April, he resumed his exhortations of Cazius. Though the tone became increasingly bitter, Cazius would not budge. Canneman and Temminck's approaches were equally unsuccessful, and nothing was solved even when Gogel talked to Cazius. Though Cazius was indeed trying to hide his own financial bungling, it is remarkable that these high government officers were unable to persuade him to submit the documents they needed to wind up the estate of the Teutonic Order and finalize its dissolution. French control may not have been so tight after all – a point that may also have applied to its censorship.²¹

In the meantime, agreement was reached on a different point: compensation for the members. Though the settlement offered in October 1811 had been rejected as being too low, the Order changed tack in the general meeting of June 1812. In exchange for compensation and for sharing the funds between them, the members were prepared to accept dissolution – but if Cazius continued not to submit the documents, this would be impossible.²²

Compensation was a matter on which Bentinck had written to Napoleon, engaged by now in his Russian campaign. The only answer Bentinck received was that he could continue to live in the Order's house in The Hague – a promise subsequently laid down in a decree signed by Napoleon in Vitebsk, where the Russian army had just slipped his grasp.²³ After the emperor's safe return to Paris in late 1812, Bentinck tried once more, asking Appellius how matters stood with regard to the compensation. He was advised to approach the ministry of finance, which eventually made a concrete proposal. On 13 August 1813, Napoleon signed a decree in Dresden that allotted a fixed annual pension to the members of the order after its dissolution.²⁴

The pensions were never paid: before the complex procedures for registering the national debt could get under way, the machinery of the French state was immobilized by developments on the front. When Napoleon had signed, the truce with the allies had just ended, and the fighting – now involving Austria – led to progressive collapse, a process that came to a head in mid-October at the Battle of the Nations near Leipzig. Some weeks later, French troops began their withdrawal from Holland. In mid-November, a group of prominent Dutchmen seized power and called for the return of the son of the last stadholder. On 30 November, he duly landed on the beach at Scheveningen and was inaugurated as Sovereign Prince in Amsterdam two days later.²⁵

The lobby for reinstatement

At the French departure and the prince's return, Bentinck saw immediately that the Bailiwick of Utrecht could be reinstated. He approached the sovereign in person and received a favourable answer. On 20 April 1814, he followed this up with an official petition. In the rhetoric that became customary after the fall of Napoleon, all blame was attributed to 'the whim of the despot'.²⁶ When requesting the Sovereign Prince to reverse the injustice and return the 'stolen goods', he pointed out that none of the compensation promised had been paid – something that would become an important element in achieving a settlement.

On 21 February 1815, after reporting by the ministries of finance and the interior, a proposal for the annulment of the dissolution was submitted to the *Raad van State*, the sovereign's new advisory council – a body that decided on fundamental questions in a debate on the reversal of revolutionary measures that was now raging throughout Europe. Its opinion was that, if compensation had been paid, the actions of previous governments – justified or otherwise – should not be reversed.²⁷ For this reason, it recommended that the ministry of the interior's proposal with regard to the Utrecht chapters should not be adopted, as their members had already received compensation. But in the case of the Teutonic Order the situation was different, as no compensation had been paid.

William I accepted the recommendations of the *Raad van State* and signed a Royal Decree to this effect on 25 March 1815, nine days after proclaiming himself king. He reversed the dissolution of the Teutonic Order and, to the extent that they were still under the management of *Domeinen* and were not now in private hands, promised the return of the goods that had been confiscated. The king requested the Office and the ministry of finance to prepare the submission of a bill to the *Staten-Generaal*, the parliament of the new kingdom.

Obtaining a clear picture of the Order's former possessions was still a complicated matter, partly because it was still necessary to process the papers previously held by Cazius, now ex-steward. Eventually, a bill was put before the *Staten-Generaal* on 31 July – ironically the very day that Napoleon embarked for St Helena. The first article described the principle upon which restitution would be made: 'The Teutonic Order, Bailiwick of Utrecht, shall be restored to the condition pertaining at the time of its suppression in the year 1811.'²⁸ However, the king was to exercise greater authority over the Order than had previously been exercised by the Provincial States of Utrecht. The accompanying letter contained an important consideration regarding the policy on those affected by the Napoleonic measures. The king expressed his heartfelt sympathy with regard to 'the detriment to their property and essential interests that so many of our countrymen suffered during the foreign occupation'. But although he had originally intended to repair all such damage, he had quickly concluded that the sheer extent and complexity of the losses would make this impossible.²⁹ He realized that options for redressing injustices were possible only if they did not threaten the running of the state and would not harm any interests that had developed in the meantime. The reinstatement of the Bailiwick of Utrecht through the restitution of goods was

possible only if it did not harm the interests of those to whom its possessions had been auctioned.

The restitution policy of William I resembled that of Louis XVIII in France and the agreements made at the Vienna Congress. Like the Order of St John, which had hoped to recover Malta, the Teutonic Order in Germany received nothing.³⁰ On 4 August the *Staten-Generaal* debated the bill, accepting it with the rider that although the proposed reinstatement of the Order entailed the restoration of its name and of some remaining goods, it did not entail the restoration of the Order as it had existed for nearly six centuries.³¹ On 8 August, the king signed it into law. The final step in the process was the publication in the *Staatsblad* – the bulletin of acts, orders and decrees – of the Act for the reinstatement of the Teutonic Order of the Bailiwick of Utrecht.³²

The procedures for reinstatement could then begin. Although the preparatory work had already been done by *Domeinen* and the ministry of finance, it would take six years for the process to be completed. Eventually, however, the Teutonic Order recovered the greater part of its possessions. In terms of land, this amounted to nearly 75 per cent: 1,420 *morgen* – some 1,150 hectares. It had already been determined that only land administered by *Domeinen* would qualify for return.³³ That only a quarter of the confiscated estates had been sold was due partly to the delays caused by Cazius but also to the cautious approach to sales taken by *Domeinen*. The authorities had learned much from the inflationary effects of the rapid sale of church property in France after 1789. Lots that could not be sold at auction for more than their reserve price were now withdrawn immediately and might be put back on the market later. It was for similar reasons that the sale of chapter possessions, which continued after 1814 because the chapters would not be reinstated, was to last for decades.³⁴

Now the Teutonic Order had been reinstated by law, Land Commander Bentinck was able to convene the remaining knights. On 27 September 1815 they met in the Order's house in The Hague. Much moved, Bentinck began his address as follows:

Gentlemen, after the storms and shocks that have shaken the world for many years – shocks that also uprooted our noble Order – this is one of the happiest moments of my life. For that Order is risen anew, its former lustre undimmed.³⁵

But the mood during the meeting was anything but festive. First, three members responded frostily to Bentinck's account of his actions between 1811 and 1815. They then attacked his proposal to dismiss Cazius and replace him by Christiaan Paulus de Vos (1781–1857), a *Domeinen* officer. Although the land commander was able to assert his will, relations were soured, and remained so for years.

Furious arguments also followed Bentinck's death in later 1820, this time about finances, new regulations, and the Order's official seat. When De Vos decamped to London with the funds, the Order was in a serious predicament once more. Peace was restored only after new regulations had been accepted in 1830, finances had been put in order and, in 1836, new premises had been purchased in Utrecht.³⁶ Here

the Order remained until the end of the twentieth century, when the old Teutonic House that had been confiscated in 1807 became vacant, part of which was bought back. In the meeting room, the bust of King William I now stands behind the land commander's chair, an arrangement that symbolizes the king's saving of the Order in 1815.

Conclusion

The history of the Teutonic Order of the Bailiwick of Utrecht in the revolutionary period – specifically that of 1811–1815 – epitomizes not only the attack on institutions of the *ancien régime*, but also the tenacity of these institutions. The attacks were the product of a revolutionary ideal that wished to bring an end to anything reminiscent of feudalism and ecclesiastical dominion. Conveniently, revenue from their dissolution would also help eliminate state deficits, which were largely the product of the wars that had been waged. Mixing active and passive resistance with flexible responses to events as they unfolded, the exponents of the old order did their best to save their skins. To recover their lost positions, they tried to use moderation in the revolutionary process and the fall of the Napoleonic regime. Their success depended on circumstance and those in power. Although some endeavoured to rectify revolutionary injustice, this could not be done if the cost was too high and if any recently gained interests were jeopardized. Property – ancient and recent alike – was inviolable. The Teutonic Order of the Bailiwick of Utrecht was able to return because its members had received no compensation and because the property of which they had been deprived was still largely in government hands. Other institutions such as the Utrecht chapters were disbanded for good. But because the Bailiwick of Utrecht was able to resume in 1815, the city still boasts an institution whose descent dates back directly to the time of the crusades – 1231, the year in which the commandery in Utrecht was founded.

Notes

- 1 This article is based on research conducted between 2007 and 2012 the results of which were published in a Dutch monograph: R. E. de Bruin, *Bedreigd door Napoleon. De Ridderlijke Deutsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht 1753–1838* (Hilversum, 2012).
- 2 Décret impérial au Palais des Tuileries, 27–2–1811, p. 1; Archief Ridderlijke Deutsche Orde Utrecht (ARDOU) Oud Archief 1200–1811 (OA) inv. no. 19; Decreet van keizer Napoleon waarbij ook de D.O. Balije van Utrecht wordt opgeheven. Met copie van een adres aan de keizer, houdende verzoek om dit decreet niet van toepassing te doen zijn voor de Balije van Utrecht (1811) 1 omslag. Archives Nationales (AN), Paris, AF, Archives du pouvoir exécutif (1789–1815) IV, Secrétairerie d'État impérial (an VIII–1815), inv. no. 530, Minutes des décrets impériaux (24–28 février 1811) 1 carton.
- 3 J. A. Mol, 'Trying to survive. The Military Orders in Utrecht, 1580–1620', in *The Military Orders and the Reformation. Choices, State building and the Weight of Tradition*, ed. J. A. Mol, K. Millitzer and H. J. Nicholson (Hilversum, 2006), pp. 181–207.
- 4 De Bruin, *Bedreigd door Napoleon*, pp. 79–88.
- 5 R. E. de Bruin, 'Hidden in the Bushes: The Teutonic Order of the Bailiwick of Utrecht in the 1780–1806 Revolutionary Period', in *MO* 5, pp. 349–61.

- 6 ARDOU-OA, inv. no. 11–4, fols. 86–7; G. A. Evers, *Utrecht als koninklijke residentie* (Utrecht, 1941), pp. 62–3.
- 7 ARDOU-OA, inv. no. 11–4, fols. 90–1; Nationaal Archief (NA) 2.01.12, inv. no. 601, Minuut verbal, uitgaande brieven en ingekomen stukken 23–31 januari 1808.
- 8 F. Täubl, *Der Deutsche Orden im Zeitalter Napoleons* (Bonn, 1966), pp. 171–177; C. Testa, *The French in Malta 1798–1800* (Valetta, 1997), pp. 23–24; A. Blondy, ‘Malta and France 1789–1798: The Art of Communicating a Crisis’, in *Hospitaller Malta*, ed. V. Mallia-Milanes (Msira, 1993), pp. 662–3.
- 9 ‘de vereeniging van Holland met het Fransche Keizerrijk’, ARDOU-OA, inv. no. 11, fol. 137.
- 10 Brief van de minister van Financiën aan de Gouverneur-Generaal, 1–9–1810; Nationaal Archief (NA), The Hague, 2.01.01.08 Archieven van de Prins Stedehouder 1810–1813, inv. no. 11, Ministre des Finances (1810–1813) 1 portefeuille.
- 11 AN AF IV, inv. no. 530, Minutes des décrets impériaux, doss. 4129, 27 February 1811.
- 12 Communication from Dr Joke Roelevink 18–5–2010; <http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/GidsBataafsFranseTijd/Instellingen/144>; <http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/chan/index.html>: État général des fonds des Archives nationales (Paris), AF Archives du Pouvoir Exécutif, p. 8.
- 13 ‘dat de Duitsche Orde niet nominativ in het Decreet was uitgedrukt’, ARDOU-OA, inv. no. 11–4, fol. 137.
- 14 ARDOU-OU, inv. no. 19, adres, p 3.
- 15 ARDOU-OU, inv. no. 19, adres, p 4.
- 16 ARDOU-OU, inv. no. 19, adres, p 5.
- 17 Décret Impérial à Amsterdam, 22–10–1811; NA 2.21.005.30, inv. no. 20, Capittelzaken en Duitsche Orde, balije van Utrecht (1803, 1811–1814) 46 stukken; origineel: AN AF IV inv. no. 593, Minutes des décrets impériaux (19–22 octobre 1811) doss. 4691, no. 17.
- 18 ARDOU-OU inv. no. 11–4, fols. 150–63.
- 19 ARDOU-OA inv. no. 11–4, fol. 167–70; ARDOU-NA inv. no. 004; NA 2.01.23, inv. no. 93, Ingekomen stukken Intendant-Generaal van Financiën (1812); *Een vriendschap in het teken van 's lands financiën. Briefwisseling tussen Elias Canneman en Isaac Jan Alexander Gogel, 1799–1813*, ed. M. van Leeuwen-Canneman (‘s-Gravenhage, 2009), pp. 587, 597–8, 602–7.
- 20 Letter from V. R. Bentinck to F. G. van Dedem van de Gelder, 16–4–1813, ARDOU-NA, inv. no. 006.
- 21 L. Jensen, *Verzet tegen Napoleon* (Nijmegen, 2013) pp. 33–52, 134.
- 22 ARDOU-OA, inv. no. 11–4, fol. 163.
- 23 Décret impérial à Witebsk, 6–8–1812, AN AF IV, inv. no. 680, Minutes des décrets impériaux (1–6 août 1812) 1 carton, doss. 5437 no. 25. A. Zamoyski, *1812. Napoleon's Fatal March to Moscow* (New York, 2005), pp. 169–75; D. Lieven, *Russia against Napoleon* (London, 2009), pp. 191–203.
- 24 Décret Impérial à Dresde, 13–8–1813; ARDOU-NA, inv. no. 004, bijlage W1; AN AF IV inv. no. 976, doss. 6395 no. 95.
- 25 J. Koch, *Koning Willem I 1772–1843* (Amsterdam, 2013), pp. 228–44.
- 26 ‘de willekeur van de despoot’. Letter from V. R. Bentinck to William I, 20–4–1814; ARDOU-NA, inv. no. 004, bijlage X. Verzoekschrift van V. R. Bentinck aan Napoleon, 31–7–1812; ARDOU-NA, inv. no. 007, Memorie van de Landcommandeur over zijne bemoeienissen om een schadevergoeding te verkrijgen voor de leden van het voormalig kapittel der Orde, 2 exemplaren met bijlagen (1813) 1 omslag, bijlage a.
- 27 Notulen Raad van State, 21–2–1815; NA 2.02.06 inv. no. 5.
- 28 ‘De Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht, wordt hersteld, zodanig als dezelve tijde van suppressie in den jare 1811 heeft bestaan.’ Concept-besluit, houdende bepalingen omtrent de teruggave der goederen door de Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht, voormaals bezeten, 31–7–1815, art. 1; ARDOU-NA, inv. no. 031.

- 29 'in de slagen welken door zo veelen onzer landgenooten geduurende de vreemde overheersching in hunne waardste belangen en in hun vermogen getroffen zijn'. Letter from William I to the Staten-Generaal, 3–8–1815; ARDOU-NA, inv. no. 031.
- 30 D. Buschinger and M. Olivier, *Les chevaliers teutoniques* (Paris, 2007), pp. 372–3; A. Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna* (London, 2007), p. 429.
- 31 Handelingen Kamer 4–8–1815; ARDOU-NA, inv. no. 031.
- 32 Staatsblad no. 43 Wet waarbij de Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht, wordt hersteld, gearresteerd 8–8–1815 no 55; ARDOU-NA, inv. no. 031.
- 33 NA 2.02.06, inv. no. 5, Notulen van de Raad van State, 21–2–1815.
- 34 De Bruin, *Bedreigd door Napoleon*, p. 521; R. de Kam, F. Kipp and D. Claessen, *De Utrechtse Domtoren, trots van de stad* (Utrecht, 2014), p. 303; *Utrecht in 1832. Grondgebruik en eigendom. Kadastrale atlas provincie Utrecht*, ed. D. J. Wijmer, D. T. Koen and H. P. Deys (Utrecht, 2000).
- 35 'Hoog Wel Geboren Heren, Een der gelukkigste ogenblikken van mijn leven is het tegenwoordige na al de stormen en schokken die sedert zo vele jaren de waereld beroerd hebben, en die ook onse eerwaardige Orde hadde omvergeruckt herrijst deselve met glans, onder de luisterrijkste bescherming'. ARDOU-OA, inv. no. 11–4, fol. 113.
- 36 Het Utrechts Archief (HUA), Utrecht, Akte notaris G.H. Stevens 1–12–1836, dl. 133, no. 31.

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